'Ecology' dangers

See pages 5, 6, 7, 9

PEOPLE'S WORLD

San Francisco ★★ Final
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SATURDAY, APRIL 18, 1970

PEACE AT THE STOCK EXCHANGE. The scene when the procession from the labor rally at San Francisco's Ferry Building reached the Downtown Coalition rally April 15. Tax day demonstrations drew thousands throughout the country.

Behind space danger: money?

People's World Science Dept.

SAN FRANCISCO — With a few of the bolder editorial writers asking the question, "Is this trip really necessary" and a few of the more courageous scientists answering "no," three U.S. astronauts departed last Sunday in the space scientist's nightmare — the moon shot that didn't work.

The ship was Apollo 13 and the emergency started April 13, one day into the journey on the module called Aquarius, quickening the pulse of the neo-occultists spread across the land.

But those who saw some significance in the number 13 were matched by those who cynically ventured the thought that the launch on the eve of the Lenin Centennial was more than coincidence. They pointed to last July's Apollo 11 mission, which departed on the eve of Vice-President Spiro Agnew's trip to the Far East.

But whatever cynicism existed in the minds of those who had their eyes glued to the television screen Monday night, it did not all spring from imagination. At least not by the time the ill-fated mission was over.

DEATH AND DRISTAN

Those who were still propped up about 1:30 a.m. (PST) Tuesday, still engrossed in the drama of man versus the elements about which he knows so little, were treated to an almost incredible commentary. The television announcers were clearly tired and there wasn't enough motion to fill each moment. So, as they are likely to do in such situations, they began to repeat themselves within minutes and search around for something to say.

The American Broadcasting Company seemed to have particular problems. They filled one portion taken from the space race against death with time out for Dristan, Volkswagen and Benson and Hedges. Then the

(Continued on back page)

Strike wave still crashing

People's World Labor Dept.

SAN FRANCISCO — As the Nixon administration, aided by Congress, maneuvers to put rank and file workers and their unions up against the wall, strike actions continue to advance, with participants having their backs up — but not against the wall.

The most notable symptom of this militant fight back against efforts to cool the situation down is the widespreading practice of getting "sicker and sicker and sicker."

That's the words that were used by one observer early in the week to describe what was happening in the Midwest to railroad workers angered by Administration efforts to break their strike and force them back to work with an imposed settlement.

The rampant flu that was plaguing members of the four shopcraft unions had pretty much died down at the end of the week. William Winpisinger, chief negotiator for the union, was in Washington testifying for the imposed settlement and complaining that the men had gotten "out of control."

NO LEADERSHIP

Needless to say, in such a situation, the angry workers were not getting any leadership and only in a few places are significant rank-and-file movements reported to have developed.

But the coolness in the railyards may not continue. The seeds of another revolt are there and a point has been made that is being made over and over in this turbulent labor spring.

The point is being made by truck drivers, teachers and air traffic controllers every day. They are disturbed enough by conditions to go on strike. And, in the event someone tries to impose a settlement of their grievances upon them — either employers, the government and in some cases union officials — that is not acceptable, they will stay out. They will choose to get quite ill, if necessary to avoid the penalties of some restrictive labor laws.

In the long run the rank and file militancy and determination appears to pay off. Certainly there is a widespread feeling that if it won't, nothing else will.

RANK AND FILE

There are a lot of Teamsters Union members who ended up this week believing it had worked for them. What took place in Detroit Wednesday would tend to support their view.

Last Wednesday morning Teamster International Vice-President Robert Holmes, returned to Detroit, President James Hoffa's home base, for a dramatic four and a half hour session with the rebellious members of his union there.

Holmes informed the 1,000 men gathered to hear him that the Washington negotiations had come up with an increase to $1.60 an hour over the next three years, much of it in health and welfare benefits. What remained to be negotiated were special local settlements.

Last month the drivers all over the country decided that

(Continued on back page)

Our fund drive and the continuing ecology debate

On April 10 we received the following note from Santa Barbara:

"We have decided to do better than the $150 quota assigned to us here.

"These are times when our banners must be kept flying high and what better way to do it than nail them to the masthead of the People's World?

"Here, then, is $100 to get us off the ground. Please count on us for more than our share."

We can't be positive, but a letter we received from the people in Santa Barbara a couple of weeks ago would suggest there are specific reasons why the possibilties for new support in the area exist for the PW.

One reason would be, of course, the excellent coverage given the recent confrontations between police and students at the university there, carried in our March 7 issue. The story, written by Bettina Aptheker, was one of the few printed anywhere in the country which gave the students' side of the story.

We noted, last week, that the reason the truth could be told in full in our papers about the Chicano movement and the farm workers' struggle was because we are not tied politically to the growers and we don't carry Safeway ads. The same is true in the case of the events in Santa Barbara.

We don't carry ads for the Bank of America, nor do they own our printing equipment. None of our supporters sits on the bank's board of directors. Therefore we don't have to run their silly ads nor parrot their line.

We are responsible only to the readers and supporters of the paper, the individuals and groups which keep it going — in the main, working people. Our responsibility to them dictates that we not abandon sound political judgement in favor of what is fashionable nor take off on a flight of fancy. We have therefore consistently related our opposition to much of the mindless violence and provocative terrorism within and against the left. We shall continue to do so.

There is another aspect of the publication of the People's World which makes it quite unique and which should make this issue a hot item in oil slicked Santa Barbara. We believe in debate. Not in internecine, intergroup warfare, not trading insults or shoving all who differ into the enemy camp, but real honest and thoughtful debate.

The ecology debate, which, perhaps, reaches its high point with this issue, is a good thing. We see both possibilities and traps in the current environment movement and we intend to point out both and to give the readers the space to agree or disagree. Together we can find something approximating truth.

If this is the kind of newspaper you think ought to be kept alive, one that ought to grow in size and stature, then help meet our financial goals as soon as possible. Push hard and keep on pushing.

Indians set May 31 deadline

Alcatraz talks verge on stalemate

SAN FRANCISCO — The confidence of the Indians of All Tribes, Inc. (IATI) and the Bay Area Native American Council (BANAC) in the "good faith" of the U.S. government has again been dashed against the rocks of Alcatraz Island.

The IATI, Alcatraz Island, are opposed to a government plan to turn Alcatraz into a national park and game reserve, the proposal submitted to the Department of the Interior by the National Park Service, commissioned in October of 1969. The Alcatraz occupation began Nov. 20, 1969.

On March 31, 1970 the IATI sat in negotiations with Robert Robertson, acting director of the National Council of American Indians. An IATI press release April 3, stated:

"We dealt with the government on their terms. They asked us to submit a proposal, which we did, expecting them to honor their statements concerning Indian self-determination. The U.S. government speaks and has spoken in the past of having Indian people control their own lives and their own destiny and yet the proposal we submitted to the government concerning Alcatraz was rejected.

"All we got out of this meeting with the U.S. government and their representative is that they are going to continue to do what they have done in the past, which is to do our thinking for us and run things their way.

"We met with them in complete good faith. We submitted the proposal they asked for, asking for funds in the form of a planning grant to develop the Island. Mr. Robertson said they considered the proposal but that it was unfeasible. It was never considered."

INDIAN PLANS

The IATI and the BANAC want to build a cultural and spiritual complex on Alcatraz that will serve all Indian people. It would be composed of:

- A Center for Native American studies which will educate them to the skills and knowledge to improve the lives and spirit of all Indian peoples.
- An American Indian Spiritual Center which will practice our ancient tribal religious and sacred healing ceremonies.
- An Indian Center of Ecology which will train and support our young people in scientific research and practice, to restore our lands and waters to their pure and natural state. We will work to de-pollute the air and waters of the Bay Area. We will seek to restore fish and animal life to the area and to revitalize sea life which has been threatened by the white man's way. We will set up facilities to de-salt sea water for human benefit.
- A great Indian Training School to teach our people how to make a living in the world, improve our standard of living, and to end hunger and unemployment among all our people.
- An American Indian Museum which will depict our native food and other cultural contributions we have given to the world. The museum will show the noble and the tragic events of Indian history, including the broken treaties, the documentary of the Trail of Tears, the Massacre of Wounded Knee, as well as the victory over Yellow Hair Custer and his army.

The Alcatraz groups claim the government countered with its own proposal on March 31, 1970. "According to Robertson, this proposal they submitted to us was a study taken before the Alcatraz invasion, thereby putting the lie to the statement that they had even considered our proposal. If they had considered our proposal they would have worked with it and made adjustments to it."

They have given the government until May 31, to make a counter-proposal.

WHAT'S NEGOTIABLE

"We are willing to negotiate on money and the time and the day that the government will turn over the deed to this island. That is all that is negotiable. There will be no park on this island because it changes the whole meaning of what we are here for."

IATI and BANAC are aware, they say, that action may be taken against them and could result in the imprisonment of Indian people. involved.

But, if the government is only going to mouth off about helping them, then they will hold meetings on the island and seek funds elsewhere. They will draw up their own deed and claim ownership of the Island. They said,

"Mr. Robertson, in his press conference concerning our meeting of March 31, presented such a pretty picture for the public—of an open air park with lovely Indian statues secluded here and there among the Indian Cultural Center and Museum, with Indian guides strolling around showing people where all the birdbaths are.

"We will no longer be museum pieces, tourist attractions and politician's playthings."

In the meantime in order to survive they ask for some immediate needs. They ask you to search your house, garage, etc., for the following gifts that will help them to keep going.

They need clothes — not rags, canned milk and foods, fruit juices, flour, rice, beans and cereals. Thev at last have a deep freeze so thev can use fresh meats. fish. frozen vegetables eggs and fresh fruit. Also, any kind of repair tools and first aid equipment is sorely needed.

The new receiving depot is located on the southeast corner of Pier 40 on the Embarcadero, phone 362-5822.

Photo: Elmer Allen

WHILE NEGOTIATIONS are coming to a head on Alcatraz, the United Indians of All Tribes continues its picketing at Ft. Lawton in Washington state. The tribes are demanding return of the soon-to-be abandoned fort, to the Indians. Photo above shows recent demonstrations at Seattle courthouse.

Oleta Proctor tells it like it is

British applaud report of Panthers' struggle

By VIVIAN RAINERI

LONDON (Delayed) — Oleta Proctor, representing the U. S. Young Workers Liberation League, received a standing ovation at a packed YCL (Young Communist League) rally here.

Speaking on the "deadly poison" of racism in the U. S., she told the audience that they must "make no mistake — if the bell tolls for black people, it tolls for everyone else."

Racism, she said, has divided the U. S. working class for 400 years and "given huge profits to the ruling class."

Going back through the history of struggle of black people in the U. S., she spoke of the need of "angry bitter young people" for "a new kind of organization guided by a revolutionary theory."

Thus, she said, the Black Panther party was founded "as a way of defending black lives in the ghetto and giving the idea of self defense, as a right of people, a new content."

THEORY AND PRACTICE

Tracing the development of the BPP to a marxist organization, she told her fascinated listeners of putting "theory into practice" — the breakfast, free medical care programs and liberation schools.

"The drive to bring fascism to the U.S.," she said, " which is led by the pig stooge Nixon, is felt all over the world, not just at home.'

If the Nixon administration succeeds in its attempt to destroy the BPP, she said, "no other movement will be able to survive because this is where the battle lines are drawn."

The audience became noticeably somber as she told them, "We black people all over the world have been rubbed raw and anywhere racism raises its head, we feel its presence, no matter how covered up it may be to the white population — and so, at the risk of offending anyone here, I'm going to tell you like it is."

"You have a big problem and you ain't seen nothin' yet. If you think that Enoch Powell is just one isolated voice of racism in your country, you are sadly mistaken.

"I urge you, I plead with you, to recognize it before it reaches the level it has in the U.S.

"But your struggle will not be over for you must always work also on the international level.

"Join hands with your black and brown bothers and sisters at home for the work you do here will reflect itself all over the world."

And as Miss Proctor declared, "Seize the time because the time is now," her audience rose to its feet in roars of approval.

Ruling may add 100,000 Spanish-speaking voters

MAPA convenes on politics

FRESNO — A new setting has been provided for the two statewide political action and legislative conferences affecting the Mexican Americans scheduled here this month.

The unanimous decision of the state Supreme Court March 24 that literate Spanish speaking citizens may vote in state election even though they cannot read English will no doubt give some additional political muscle to the two day pre-primary endorsing convention of the Mexican American Political Assn. which convenes here on Saturday, April 18.

The court ruling, following years of campaigning by Chicano political movements, is expected to add 100,000 previously disenfranchised persons to the voting rolls.

However one major demand of Genoveva Castro and Jesus E. Parra, on whose behalf the American Civil Liberties Union of Southern California and California Rural Legal Assistance initiated the legal action, was not agreed to by the state high court. It was that a number of the ballots be printed in Spanish.

The scene of the MAPA convention will be the downtown Hotel Californian, Kern and Van Ness. The two day session will be preceded by an executive board meeting April 17 at 1 p.m.

Going into the convention many of the MAPA leaders expressed the view that in all likelihood the pre-primary endorsements will be limited and those non-Chicano candidates running for office may have a tough time this year in getting the MAPA nod in the hot primary.

If past MAPA conventions serve as an accurate barometer, although issues and candidates will share billing, candidates can be expected to get priority. At the second conference scheduled here this month the priority will be on issues.

On May 9 and 10, a conference sponsored by the Spanish Speaking Legislative Issues Conference Committee will be convened at Fresno City College. The meeting is described as having a fourfold purpose:

- To discuss topics of state and national importance to the Spanish speaking community.
- To make plans and recommendations for action to implement changes.
- To meet first hand with legislators and other persons who might help bring about these changes.

To discuss participation and political action in the Spanish speaking community.

Anti-Cuban army organizing in U. S.

ST. PETERSBURG, Fla —According to the St. Petersburg Times, recruiting stations to organize an anti-Cuban army to overthrow the Castro government will be opened in Miami and other cities.

The project is part of the Torriente plan, sponsored by a new anti-Cuban movement in Miami.

Parent coup gets community nursery control

SAN FRANCISCO — The demand for community control of police, schools and other institutions has been raised many times, but parents in the Western Addition of San Francisco made it real recently when they took over a nursery school.

The Western Addition is primarily a black neighborhood but some poor white and Japanese families make their homes there. It also encompasses the Fillmore — a black ghetto.

The S. F. Community Nursery is set in this area and cares for about 40 pre-school children of working parents. 70% of the kids are black and 80% of the enrollment are third world students

The nursery was founded by immigrants from Czarist Russia after the 1917 Bolshevik revolution. But the students now represent the neighborhood — black, white, Asian, Filipino.

POOR CONDITIONS

Fees are minimal and the school's funding comes primarily from the federal grants and the United Bay Area Crusade.

Over the years the school was allowed to deteriorate by the board of directors, still dominated by the same White Russians who founded the nursery.

During a rest period for the children recently, a boiler came close to exploding which could have caused a fire that would have killed most of the kids.

The S.F. Fire Dpartment has cited the building as a fire hazard.

There was play equipment for only about five children while the student body approached 40.

The situation was so bad that UBAC was threatening to withhold funds from the school if improvements were not made.

One parent who actively participated in the takeover effort said "for years the thing was run incompetently."

The recent federal grant to the school provided a handle for the parents to take action.

It provided 75% of the funds for the school with the stipulation that 50% of the parents of the students be involved in the running of the nursery.

The takeover fight began in earnest when a new building was purchased by the board of directors for which they paid $90,000 in cash. It is located at 26th ave. and Quinterra, a predominantly white middle class area.

However, the federal grant states the majority of the students must still come from the Western Addition area.

BUSING OK

One parent said, "We don't mind busing our kids."

But about $20,000 worth of remodeling was needed before the new nursery could be used. The board of directors stalled on making the improvements.

UBAC again threatened to withhold its funds and finally agreed to grant them if a new board was elected.

Meanwhile angry parents got together and decided reform and reason with the present board was impossible.

They joined the nursery school corporation and forced the board of directors to resign. The new board elected represents the parents of the students.

Mrs. Nina Ryan, mother of two who is the new president of the board, said of the school, "it is unique in that it is completely parent controlled."

Ed Tosques, newly elected treasurer of the board, said now "parents can have literal control — any board will be made up of parents."

"Nobody's going to care about the kids more than the parents," he said.

NOT IN THE CLEAR

But the school is not in the clear yet. The new building cannot be used until all the improvements are made.

The federal funds specifically cannot be used for capital improvements which means the school must come up with the $20,000.

"The question a month ago was whether or not it would survive," said Mrs. Ryan.

That question "hasn't been answered yet," she said.

The plumbing contractor has stopped work because he hasn't been paid. The nursery was refused a bank loan even though they own the $90,000 building outright.

However, Ryan said there were still alternatives available and she was confident the money problems would be solved.

The future of the nursery school "is that it will continue to serve the Western Addition," she said.

Bob Kaufman photo

THESE ARE students at another community controlled school, the liberation school run by the Black Panther party in Oakland. In San Francisco recently a group of Western Addition took over control of a nursery school.

IF THAT'S Attorney General John Mitchell's next choice for the U. S. Supreme Court, Richard Nixon doesn't look too happy with it either. Mitchell is taking a lot of heat for the selections of Judges Clement Haynesworth and Harold Carswell. Life magazine recently called for his resignation.

I-J scab patrons listed

SAN RAFAEL — The Intl. Typographical Union Local No. 21 is expanding the community-support campaign in their strike against the scab Marin Independent-Journal.

The boycott of advertisers in the I-J has been stepped up. At least fifty advertisers have now pulled out. More plan to do so, or have cut their ad sizes.

The ITU has listed ten advertisers in the I-J and is directing a "don't shop" campaign towards them. The ten who continue to advertise:

Long's Drugs, Grand Auto Stores, Safeway markets, Cala Food Stores, Montgomery Ward Co., Mayfair Markets, Petrini's Markets, the Emporium, Penney's department stores, Disco. department stores.

Last Friday, April 10, a couple of hundred pickets, among them Charles Weers, Marin Labor Council Secretary, marched around the entrances of Emporium at Terra Linda shopping center near San Rafael.

The big E is one of the major advertisers in the I-J which has so far refused to pull out.

Mass picketing at the Emporium (Market at 5th street) is scheduled for Saturday, April 18 from 11 to 3 p.m.

The Marin Board of Supervisors unanimously adopted the proposal of a 15-man Marin Inter-denominational Committee of Clergymen for a fact finding committee to recommend proposals for a settlement.

The only hitch was whether the Independent-Journal would cooperate — they have not done so in almost two years.

What's happening

Celebrate Lenin's first hundred years

OAKLAND — This year marking the 100th anniversary of V. I. Lenin's birth, is being celebrated all over the world. Even the United Nations has designated 1970 as a time to honor the great Russian revolutionary.

The Bay Area will take part in these international activities on May 3 when a celebration of Lenin's 100th birthday will be held from noon to 5 p.m. in the Padre area of Tilden Park.

Six foot posters of Lenin will be available for sale along with copies of his works and those of other revolutionary authors.

Bettina Aptheker, former student activist and Communist party spokesman, will speak There will be a puppet show, a sing-out with Jon Fromer and a barbeque chicken dinner.

A donation of $2 for adults and 75 cents for children under 12 is asked. Proceeds go to the sponsors, the Communist Party of Northern California and the People's World.

Berkeley chess games for the PW

BERKELEY — All Northern California chess players are invited to a chess tournament and to help build the People's World at the same time.

East Bay readers of the PW are holding the tournament on Saturday, April 25 at 1919 Oregon from 10 to 6 p.m.

There will be refreshments for the contestants. A $3 registration fee is asked with the money going to the PW.

For information and to register, call TH 3-2728.

Student rebellion for school benefit

SAN FRANCISCO — Presidio Hill School is hosting an opening night benefit for ACT's "Little Malcolm and His Struggle Against Eunuchs," Tuesday, April 28, at the Marine's Memorial Theater.

This West Coast premiere, directed by Nagel Jackson, is a suspenseful comedy about a boy thrown out of school for being a corrupting influence, and the rebellion he then organizes.

Tickets are available at the school at 3839 Washington street, phone 751-9318. Prices for this performance, which includes a post play cocktail party, are $6, $7 and $8.

New Production of Bard's play

SAN FRANCISCO — The New Shakespeare Company opens its production of "A Midsummer Night's Dream" on Saturday, April 18, at 8:30 p.m.

The Company's theatre is located in the north wing of the Trinity Episcopal Church on Gough street between Bush and Austin sts.

For reservations and information, call 771-5290.

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Reagan sabotage behind education crisis

Crumbling standards on line

By ALLEN ZAK

LOS ANGELES — The Los Angeles educational processes moved from the schools to the streets this week as striking teachers carried picket signs instead of books.

The long awaited, seemingly inevitable strike of the United Teachers of Los Angeles started off Monday (April 13) with more than half the city's classroom teachers boycotting their classes to man picket lines at all 616 area schols.

Along with the issues of pay, classroom conditions and administration, the strike was an attempt to call public attention to a serious educational financial crisis, not only in Los Angeles, but in the state of California.

After having failed to stem the board of education's decision to cut the already starved educational budget, UTLA members voted 2 to 1 April 1, to hit the bricks.

After a show of strength, in which an estimated 60% (splitting the difference between UTLA and B of E figures) of the teachers walked out, the board responded by securing a court injunction against the strikers, ordering them to return to their classrooms.

UTLA President Robert Ransom, learning of the development while in the middle of a press conference, said the union tended to ignore the court order, and said he expected the strike to increase during the course of the week.

ULTIMATUM

"Teachers will not stand for this form of un-Constitutional repression," said Ransom.

In some schools, classes were almost at normal function, but many schools were forced to close down, sending their pupils home.

Others that stayed open were reduced to "babysitting" for their students. Community reactions were mixed, but at the time of this writing there have been no confrontations between parents and teachers reported, with some demonstration of community support, particularly at Fairfax High School and in several of the minority communities.

BROKEN NEGOTIATIONS

Negotiations between the union and the board of education broke off Monday afternoon when Acting School Superintendent Robert Kelly ordered the board to end discussions with the teachers until after they return to their jobs.

Kelly and Board of Education Chairman Arthur Gardner have both expressed sympathy for some of the strikers' aims, but have stated they believe the strike will accomplish nothing because funds aren't available for needed reforms and salary requirements, and the state of California, the only course of relief, will not come through.

DRY WELL

This judgment was seemingly confirmed by state Senator Albert Rodda (D-Sacto), chairman of the Senate Educational Committee, and Assemblyman Victor Vesey (R-Brawley), Rodda's Assembly counterpart, who jointly declared that the state would send "absolutely no more funds" to California city school systems."

Almost buried in the strike drama has been the role of the Reagan administration toward education in California.

At present, schools are supported in Los Angeles by a budget in which 8% of the funds is supplied by the Federal government, 28% by the state, and 64% by local property taxpayers. Ten years ago, the tax load was split about 50-50 between state and property owners, with almost no federal involvement.

Los Angeles small property owners, already taxed to the wall, turned down a tax override measure in a special election in March.

Property taxpayers have generally made it felt that they are carrying enough, to which the UTLA has readily agreed.

Failure of the state to pick up the tab has resulted in Los Angeles educational budget cuts five years in succession.

The most recent budget, cut almost $47 million, capped a situation already regarded as desperate. Some effects of the lean money supply on LA schools are:

- The highest classroom pupil-teacher ratio among all major cities in the U. S. (the state as a whole is exceeded only by Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama and Alaska).
- Several cutbacks of an already deficient counselor program.
- Half-day sessions at many elementary schools.
- No funds available for supplies and teaching aids. Los Angeles teachers pay, on the average, $250 per year out of their own pockets for such items as crayons, erasers and microscope slides.
- Building maintenance well below minimum standards.
- A proposed dismissal of 330 out of 398 school nurses.

$750 MILLION SHIFT

And Los Angeles is by no means the only school system with a financial crisis on its hands. Many Fresno teachers are to be dismissed, with first year instructors forced to draw lots to determine who is to be let go. In Bakersfield, this procedure has already been carried out.

Indications are that the state squeeze on money for education is part of the general shift of the educational tax burden from corporate to personal taxes.

During the controversy over tuition at the University of California Regent Frederick G. Dutton (who was one of the UC recents unsucessfully voting against the tuition proposal) revealed there has been a three quarter of a billion dollar tax shift from corporate to personal tax sources during the Reagan administration.

STRUCK BEFORE

Los Angeles teachers left their classrooms for one day last September 18, closing about one-third of the city's schools. At that time, the board of educatnon was unable to secure an injunction.

UTLA was formed by a merger of the 3,000 member American Federation of Teachers (AFL-CIO) local and the 19,000 member Assn. of Classroom Teachers, Los Angeles. There are approximately 642,000 students in the school district.

Two new grape contracts signed

COACHELLA VALLEY — The United Farm Workers Organizing Committee won another victory as two more growers here capitulated and signed union contracts.

Kelvin and Cecil Larson signed with the farm workers' union after their workers voted 152-2 for the union. It was only the second union contract to be signed anywhere covering farm laborers.

The new unionists will get a $1.75 an hour plus 25 cents per box for picking table grapes.

The growers will also put 12 cents an hour per worker into a health and welfare fund.

The voting on the contract was supervised by the Natl. Bishops' Committee of the Roman Catholic Church.

Strong backing in job fight for pair at San Jose State

SAN JOSE—Two more rounds in the political battles surrounding the California state colleges were fought this week at San Jose State College.

On Tuesday, April 14, Al Rutherford, former president of the AFT at San Jose State will continue his appeal before an academic grievance board to be reinstated to his job. Rutherford was arbitrarily fired by Chancellor Glenn S. Dumke because of his leadership during a teachers strike last year called in conjunction with the strike at San Francisco State College.

In addition, Jack Kurzweil, assistant professor of electrical engineering, who was denied tenure by San Jose State president Hobart Burns last November, will appear before another faculty grievance committee this week contesting the president's decision.

Kurzweil, a member of the AFT's executive committee at San Jose State, has been a center of attention on the campus since it became known that he was married to Bettina Aptheker, a well-known student leader and Communist party spokesman. Kurzweil will be represented at his hearing by Oakland attorney Malcolm Burnstein.

STRONG SUPPORT

While a number of right-wing legislators have loudly demanded his dismissal and the trustees have quietly expressed similar desires the liberal president Burns steadfastly maintains that his tenure denial was made on purely academic grounds. This in the face of the fact that Kurzweil's department voted to recommend him for tenure, as did the All-College Committee on Retention and Promotion.

In addition, several prestigious faculty committees have made known their displeasure with the president's adverse decision.

Last week (April 6) the Academic Freedom Committee of the Academic Council at San Jose State College issued a statement which concluded:

"But we are most concerned with the president's citation of 'continued diminishment of faculty morale' as a reason for his decision . . . It is difficult to escape the conclusion that the source of this 'intensity of feeling' is a dislike on the part of some people for Dr. Kurzweil's politics. Or his wife's . . . The president's use of this argument must be construed as an indirectly stated but nonetheless damaging violation of Dr. Kurzweil's academic freedom . . ."

OPEN HEARING

Several weeks earlier the Executive Committee of the Local Association of California State Colleges' Professors (ACSCP) issued a strong statement which maintained that: "To acquiesce silently in the continuous deterioration of academic freedom appears to us supine, and it serves no useful purpose since it has been demonstrated amply over the last several years that a defense which leads from timidity only makes the faculties more vulnerable to attack . . ."

It called upon the faculty grievance panel to recommend that tenure be awarded.

Kurzweil's hearing before the grievance panel on April 16 is open to the public. Even if the panel rules in his favor, the final decision rests with the president.

PEOPLE'S WORLD

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On the LINE

MAYOR JOSEPH ALIOTO still enjoys the support of most union leaders in San Francisco, but some of his policies are turning more and more rank and filers off.

A case in point seems to be the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union where the mayor's opposition to school integration — through the "busing" gambit— has caused considerable irritation.

The ILWU Joint Legislative Committee met recently and took three actions that must have stirred things a bit in City Hall: (1) reiterated the union's stand in favor of school integration, (2) declared its opposition to the Alioto proposed bus and streetcar fare increase, (3) instructed the union leaders to find out why the city water department which has an operating financial surplus wants a rate increase.

* * *

THAT LAST QUESTION could turn out to be quite embarassing to both the city and some labor people around town.

In the fiscal year ending June 30, 1970 the water department had a net income of $7,785,000.

That net doesn't go into the city's general fund. Instead it goes into the department's standing surplus. The surplus grew in fiscal 1968-69 to $110,826,000 from $103,000,000.

The department has a bond indebtedness of $41,000,000 which, of course, is spread over a number of years. If it were paid off tomorrow it would still leave a surplus of $69,826,000.

And they want to raise the rates.

* * *

EVERY YEAR, quite unknown to the public — in fact, secretly — the city Public Utilities Commission hosts a large garden variety type party for some of the labor people in town.

At that time, there are oceans of food and drink and many speeches about how "we can all work together."

* * *

SOME DISGRUNTLED rank and filers are now asking why the water department surplus can't be transferred to the Muni thus avoiding need for a rate increase.

They might have a sympathetic ear in the department. The manager of the water department's City Distribution Division is Ken Boyd, former president of the city Plumber's Union.

* * *

AS FAR AS the black and Chicano communities are concerned, things are looking up, employment wise, at the San Francisco Airport. At least that's the word from the city Human Rights Commission.

Six of the seven major airlines are reported to be cooperating with the commission to increase minority employment. The commission says it has risen to 15.2% of the total.

A seventh firm, Air West, has blatantly refused to even provide information on the ethnic composition of its work force.

—COMRADE

Cuba warns imperialism

'Why the sea is boiling hot'

In observance of the Week of Solidarity with the peoples of Latin America, we print below excerpts of the speech that rocked the meeting of the Council for Administration of the United Nations Development Program in New York last month.

The speaker was Dr. Carlos Rafael Rodriguez, head of Cuba's National Commission for Economic and Scientific-Technical Collaboration.

If Christ, who became the symbol of meekness, said to his disciples, "I come not to bring peace, but a sword," it would be perhaps too much to ask a spokesman for a revolutionary state to substitute an olive branch for the sword.

It is well known that, for Cuba, there is no other way to completely eliminate underdevelopment than through profound changes in the economic and social structure — or, to use less elusive words, through revolutionary changes.

Until that revolution arrives, Cuba will not hesitate to contribute to whatever may mitigate the tragedy of hundreds of millions of victims of underdevelopment and to favor those reforms that constitute a step forward toward that profound and inevitable change

But at the same time Cuba will do everything possible to keep her attitude from helping those who try to sow illusions among the people by the mere expedient of reforms.

Examination of the "general framework of aid for development" with which the Jackson Report begins its analysis of the first 25 years of the program of international contributions to development brings out an imperative need to previously pin-point the very concept of "aid" and define to what extent some of the financial contributions supposedly aimed at the the objective of fostering development can in reality be strictly attributed to such purposes.

UNDERDEVELOPMENT

In order to do this, however, it is once again necessary to define what underdevelopment consists of.

The Jackson Report itself, referring, practically at its outset, to countries that have not achieved development, calls them "less privileged countries."

The term — which does not appear to be employed accidentally — reminds us that most of those who examine underdevelopment from a capitalist point of view present it as nothing more than a "delay" suffered by a group of countries in which would be their normal course toward development.

These "less privileged countries," due to accidental historical causes or according to another widely disseminated opinion, causes ascribable to the very people inhabiting those countries, were unable to follow a rhythm of economic growth similar to that which led other countries — those which today enter the category of "developed" — to their present stage.

Even though such opinions continue to prevail in certain international circles — principally in those seeking ideological justification for the gross inequalities of the contemporary world — it is by now practically indisputable that underdevelopment is a historical phenomenon imposed upon the countries of the vast underdeveloped world by those powers which, from the outside, interrupted what might have been these countries' more or less sustained growth and, by diverse methods of despoliation — always coercive and brutal during the period of colonialism, and no less coercive, but more subtle, in the neocolonialist stage — perpetuated underdevelopment as a means for taking the greatest advantage of and intensifying such despoliation.

Moreover, divisions such as those which some try to establish between rich and poor countries, between northern and southern countries, are artificial divisions. As the Cuban delegation stated at the meeting of the Economic Commission for Latin America held in Lima in 1969, not all industrialized capitalist countries share responsibility for the "underdevelopment-promoting" policies that have held the greater part of humanity in backwardness. On the American continent the example of Canada offers evident proof of this.

Neither can the socialist countries be viewed, with respect to their duty toward the struggle against underdevelopment, from the same perspective as that which we employ to judge the old colonialist powers and the modern neo-colonialist powers, as they bear no responsibility for the situation of our peoples.

THE BALANCE SHEET

Were it possible for us to present here the balance sheet for Cuba of almost six decades of U.S. investments prior to the revolutionary process of 1959, we would have an accurate picture of what happens, almost without exception in the countries that have undergone or are undergoing the situation from which our country freed itself by revolutionary methods. It is not merely — or even mainly — a question of the adverse effect of the balance of payments. Such an adverse effect exists, and all official data show that in the period 1931-67 a total of 27,960 million dollars in the form of investment returns, interest and other benefits derived from private investments moved from the underdeveloped countries into the great capitalist countries, while, in the same period, only 15,500 million dollars entered the underdeveloped countries in the form of investments — direct, planned, etc. — and as a result of reinvestment of profits.

But, as serious as the financial consequences are, still more serious are the structural deformations caused by private investments in our economies. Merely to correct that distortion requires considerable economic and social effort from countries, such as Cuba, which liberate themselves.

In addition, it is well known that the policy of large corporations from the investing countries is to devote their capital investments precisely to local investments which generate the exportation of primary products from the underdeveloped countries which are then acquired by the investing companies at low prices as raw ma-

terial for their processing industries located in the metropolis.

In this way, to the direct exploitation of cheap labor in the underdeveloped producing country is added the commercial exaction arising from the disparity in terms of exchange and from the utilization of the natural resources of our countries for that end.

We have already referred to the results of direct exploitation of the natural resources of the underdeveloped countries by their former colonizers or by the investing monopolies of modern times. Now we must add that the methods by which the countries of our world trade their products constitute, as we said before, an additional means for exploitation that results in the loss of large amounts of resources that could be used for development.

This is quite clear if, as is recognized in the Report, almost 90% of the export earnings of the developing countries comes from the export of raw materials and almost half of those countries derive more than 50% of their foreign exchange income from a single raw material.

MULTILATERAL AID

Multilateral mechanisms, those of the United Nations and of those financial institutions created by the UN — principally, the World Bank and its group — have had to labor — and it could hardly be otherwise given the present world conditions — under the political contradictions typical of our time.

Cuba has ample reasons to distrust the benefits of multilateralism. No other country in the underdeveloped world can show a record of struggle against underdevelopment as decisive as that of revolutionary Cuba through its eleven years of Revolution. not only from the point of view of both orderly programming and strategy for development, but also with respect to the people's participation and sacrifices aimed at attaining this great objective.

And, even though the trade credits granted by the Soviet Union and other countries have somewhat alleviated the austerity made necessary by this high percentage of investment, the voluntary sacrifice being made by the people of Cuba by devoting to development what could have been used for increasing consumer goods should not be overlooked.

A country with such an international record in the struggle against underdevelopment has only received, in its first ten years, 4.6 million dollars in project aid from the United Nations Special Fund and, up to now, has received approval for only four projects. From the standpoint of global contribution, Cuba ranks among the lowest, and from the standpoint of allotment of resources on a per capita basis our country next to the last among the Latin American countries.

In one of his very ingeniously employed quotations, Sir Robert Jackson alludes to the episode from Carroll's fascinating tale in which the Walrus tells the oysters that the time has come to talk of many things: "of shoes — and ships — and sealing wax — of cabbages — and kings . . . ." But Sir Robert interrupts the quotation at the point at which the Walrus is also proposing a discussion of "why the sea is boiling hot." And, we gentlemen, should pause to think a bit of why the sea is boiling. Because, now, the sea is really boiling.

We don't pretend to teach anything about the tragedy of underdevelopment to this meeting. All those present here are specialists in the problem. But our work with figures, tendencies and indexes cannot hide from us the deep human drama underlying them. We have recalled the hundreds of millions of people who live in near starvation outside the limits of the so-called "society of abundance," the scores of millions of children who will not reach adolescence, while man nears the other planets . . .

The data of all of the most recent studies indicate that the most exasperating and grave aspect of this situation is that, in spite of concern about "development," the gap that separates the developed from the underdeveloped countries, far from being reduced, is growing wider and deeper with each day. The balance sheet of the First Decade demonstrates the failure of attempts at reformist solution.

The people cannot be given the alternative of this long delay, because the explosion will occur first. Our revolutionary and scientific view of social reality convinces us that the leap of these peoples out of underdevelopment will not take place without resort to violence and to an inevitable quantity of bloodshed and suffering, which will in the final analysis save greater bloodshed and suffering.

But it is a case of determining whether this inevitable social explosion can be moderated or whether it must inevitably take on catastrophic dimensions. The decision on this score rests with the highly developed countries, and especially with those great colonial and neocolonial powers that have the greatest responsibility for the problem of underdevelopment.

And we must say, rudely, because there is no other way to put it, that, while the exploiting countries continue to extract new riches, the financial contributions with which the same countries seek to mitigate the drama that they themselves have created are threatened with reduction. It is of little avail that Sweden, Canada and other industrialized countries increase their contributions to development if the greatest power, the United States, the principal party responsible for exploitation, reduces its portion, revealing still more the tendency that has already alarmed many who felt confidence in this path as the way to eliminate underdevelopment.

Cuba, on the other hand, is confident of having begun an irreversible process of change-over from underdevelopment to development. Its best guarantee is the willingness, fervor and high awareness of those hundreds of thousands of Cubans headed by Fidel Castro.

And we consider it necessary to warn those responsible for underdevelopment of the danger of taking no measures to prevent the situation from deteriorating, because in the final analysis the people do act.

Heroes of the stature of Lumumba, Camilo Torres and Che Guevara do not die in vain. Only little more than half a century ago the "realists" did not take into consideration a Russian exile who felt the international revolution was close at hand at a moment when the world was agonizing in the First World War.

Today, however, all humanity celebrates the centennial of the birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, not only as the creator of the world's first socialist state, but as the prophet of a social upheaval that has brought socialism to a thousand million people and now raises the hopes of all the Third World.

This is what we must not forget in our discussions of assistance to development.

Because the sea is boiling.

Good & welfare

It's really less people wanted

WELL, WE'VE received a lot of letters taking issue with the stand I took on the current ecology movement (Some on this page). In fact most of the letters received have challenged what I wrote recently and not a few of the writers challenged my credentials to even comment on the subject. One letter suggested that the next time someone write on the subject in this paper that it be a Marxist.

I won't say I've been misunderstood. That's not really the important thing. There are real differences on this question and I've said what I said because I think it should be debated. I feel very strongly that anyone who does not look with a jaundiced eye at the current ecology movement is doing mankind a great disservice. In the same way a lot of people think I'm threatening the future of the planet.

But let's get one thing clear. In challenging the people who are building and pulling the ecology bandwagon, I am not attempting to distract one bit from the fight to clean up and protect our environment. In 1966 when I was greatly agitated about saving San Francisco Bay many people I was involved with politically responded with visible boredom. I recently wrote in this column a concrete suggestion on how we could preserve the California coast and save it from the land speculators and developers — nationalize it. But that's not what this ecology movement is all about — not by a long shot.

THOSE KIDS who buried a car at San Jose State recently came and went to and from the burial ground in cars. Furthermore they are not about to give them up. Sure they want fewer cars on the roads, fewer of other people's cars. But talk with any of them more than 10 minutes and you will quickly discover what they are really concerned with is too many people. All the complaints about the ecosphere being polluted serve to illustrate for them the problems of overpopulation. Scatch an ecology freak and you will usually find a malthusian.

True enough the ecology seminars and teach-ins will help to highlight what the giant monopoly corporations are doing to destroy our environment for their own profit and to that extent they're "progressive" and part of the anti-monopoly struggle.

But there will also be shrill cries that the world is getting too small; that there are too many people breathing the world's air and eating the world's food. There will be dire and solemn prophesies about the imminent world famines which will cruelly bring the earth's population in line with the size of its surface. There will be lots of recruiting to Population Zero, an organization dedicated to the proposition that no two people should have more than two children.

THERE ARE two common fallacies about in the current ecology movement: (1) that the problems of the world are mostly caused by the size of the mass of humans upon the earth (2) that ecology is an all-class, non-class, ideologically neutral question. So maybe this movement is not reactionary, but both these notions are very dangerous and will have a negative effect if they make serious inroads into the general movement for social change or revolution. They are cop-outs for capitalism. It is silly to rant about the need for a "class position" and not recognize this.

Louis H. Roddis, Jr., president of New York Consolidated Edison, a notorious air and water polluter, recently said, "Many have donned concern for the environment like a hula hoop . . . Scarcely a public official lives who has not embraced it. But let us be sure it doesn't die in that embrace." Oh yeah.

—CARL BLOICE

Path to environmental control:

Lenin on population

At the Pirogov Doctor's Congress much interest was aroused and a long debate was held on the question of abortions. The report was made by Lichkus, who quoted figures on the exceedingly widespread practice of destroying the foetus in present-day so-called civilized states.

In New York, 80,000 abortions were performed in one year and there are 36,000 every month in France. In St. Petersburg the percentage of abortions has more than doubled in five years.

The Pirogov Doctors' Congress adopted a resolution saying that there should never be any criminal prosecution of a mother for performing an artificial abortion and that doctors should only be prosecuted if the operation is performed for "purposes of gain."

In the discussion the majority agreed that abortions should not be punishable, and the question of the so-called neomalthusianism (the use of contraceptives) was naturally touched upon, as was also the social side of the matter. Mr. Vigdorchik, for instance, said, according to the report in Russkoye Slovo, that "contraceptive measures should be welcomed" and Mr. Astrakhan exclaimed, amidst thunderous applause:

"We have to convince mothers to bear children so that they can be maimed in educational establishments, so that lots can be drawn for them, so that they can be driven to suicide!"

If the report is true that this exclamation of Mr. Astrakhan's was greeted with thunderous applause, it is a fact that does not surprise me. The audience was made up of bourgeois, middle and petty bourgeois, who have the psychology of the philistine. What can you expect from them but the most banal liberalism?

From the point of view of the working class, however, it would hardly be possible to find a more apposite expression of the completely reactionary nature and the ugliness of "social malthusianism" than Mr. Astrakhan's phrase cited above.

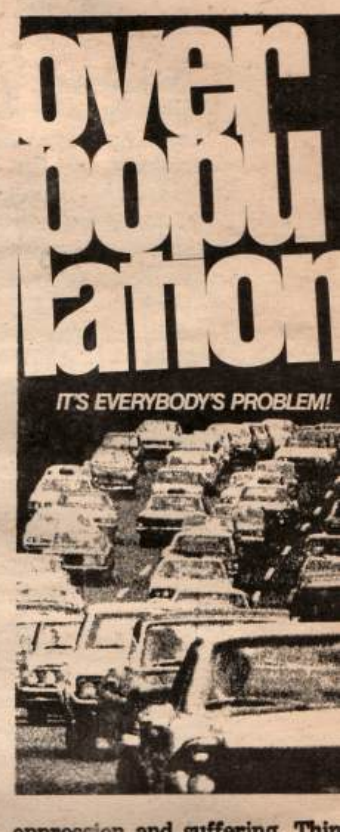
. . . "Bear children so that they can be maimed" . . . For that alone? Why not that they should fight better, more unitedly, consciously and resolutely than we are fighting against the present-day conditions of life that are maiming and ruining our generation?

This is the radical difference that distinguishes the psychology of the peasant, handicraftsman, intellectual, the petty bourgeois in general, from that of the proletarian. The petty bourgeois sees and feels that he is heading for ruin, that life is becoming more difficult, that the struggle for existence is ever more ruthless, and that his position and that of his family are becoming more and more hopeless. It is an indisputable fact, and the petty bourgeois protests against it.

But how does he protest?

He protests as the representative of a class that is hopelessly perishing, that despairs of its future, that is depressed and cowardly. There is nothing to be done . . . if only there were fewer children to suffer our torments and hard toil, our poverty and our humiliation—such is the cry of the petty bourgeois.

The class-conscious worker is far from holding this point of view. He will not allow his consciousness to be dulled by such cries no matter how sincere and heartfelt they may be. Yes, we workers and the mass of small proprietors lead a life that is filled with unbearable



oppression and suffering. Thin
are harder for our generati
than they were for our fathe
But in one respect we are luc
ier than our fathers. We ha
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learning to fight — and to fig
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of our fathers fought, not f
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ifiers that are alien to us
spirit, but for our slogans, t
slogans of our class. We a
fighting better than our fathe
did. Our children will fight b
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victorious.

The working class is not p
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stronger, gaining courage, co
solidating itself, educating
self and becoming steeled
battle. We are pessimists as f
as serfdom, capitalism and p
ty production are concerne
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what concerns the working-cla
movement and its aims. We a
already laying the foundation
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will complete its construction

That is the reason — the on
reason — why we are uncc
ditionally the enemies of n
malthusianism, suited only
unfeeling and egotistic pet
bourgeois couples, who whisp
in scared voices: "God gra
we manage somehow by ours
ves. So much the better if
have no children."

It goes without saying th
this does not by any means p
vent us from demanding the u
conditional annulment of

(Continued on page 10)

The Manhattan bomb throwers—1914

On July 4, 1914 Arthur Caron, Charles Berk, and Karl Hanson, active in the anarchist movement, and about to go on trial in connection with a protest demonstration against the "Ludlow Massacre," in Colorado, were killed by a bomb in their tenement apartment on upper Lexington avenue, New York City. It was generally assumed — on the left as well as in hysterical newspaper accounts — that the bomb that killed them was their own.

"Three Whose Hatred Killed Them" is the first piece Mike Gold had published in the regular press. Writing then under his real name, Irwin Granich, then 18, Gold went on to become one of the beloved writers of the working class movement. He was the first editor of the New Masses and wrote a column for many years in The People's World.

"Three Whose Hatred Killed Them" was published in "The Masses," August, 1914. Gold died May 14, 1967.

Our thanks to Michael Folsom for bringing the poem to our attention.

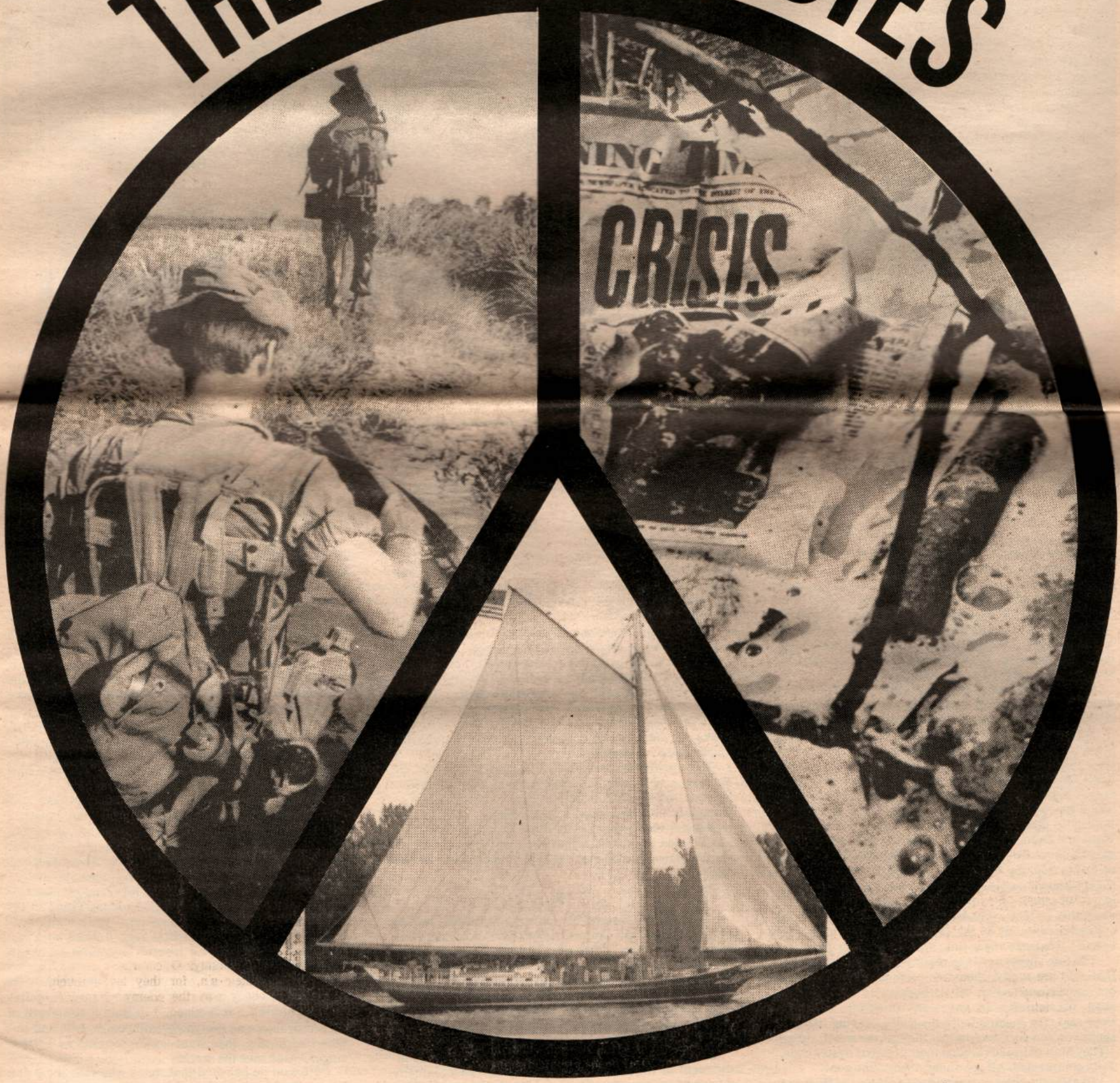
THOSE WHOSE HATRED KILLED THEM

These wild, bitter men. whose iron hatred burst too soon,
Judge them not harshly, O comrades
Forgive them their sin, for they loved much.
They hated, but it was the enemy of man they hated.
They lusted for men's blood, but it was the blood of
those who shed men's blood they lusted for.
They thought to spoil God's clay, but it was to save
much more of that sacred stuff that they thought
this.
Think of them, dear comrades, as fellow soldiers too
impatient to await the signal.
Undisciplined warriors, aflame for battle and loath to
bide the issue
Until came reinforcements, fresh troops by love and
reason recruited,
Singing as they came to join us, the Army of the
Brotherhood of Man.

WORLD MAGAZINE

APRIL 18, 1970

THE BIG MUDDIES



Where have all the flowers gone? And the air — and water — and food? Well, they're still with us, but struggling against pollution. And if they go, we go too. But what about pollution as an issue? Is it being used by some as a diversion from that other "Big Muddy," the Vietnam war? One man active against both muddies is Pete Seeger, who tells his story, and the story of the anti-pollution sloop "Clearwater" (above), inside. There is also other material about pollution and the fight against it.

Pete Seeger, shown at the left singing at a different occasion, brings his music and the "clearwater" to the Hudson's dockside communities, center, where visitors are welcomed aboard, as at the right.

A talk with Pete Seeger — The question:

Saving Mother Earth

Sailing down my dirty stream
Still I love it and I'll keep the dream
That some day though maybe not this year
My Hudson River and my country will run clear
— Pete Seeger

By JOSEPH NORTH

BEACON, N. Y.

I journeyed up alongside the Hudson River looking for the celebrated 76-foot schooner "Clearwater" with its big white sail, hoping I might encounter it at that big bellying-out of the stream the Dutch called the Tappan Zee, or wherever else it might be moored. I came to find Pete Seeger, one of this century's foremost folk-singers, to ask him about pollution, ecology, words on so many American lips these days. The singer of "Where Have All The Flowers Gone?", anti-war's theme song, has, with his sloop, the "Clearwater," also become the symbol of anti-pollution, which figures.

I came, like so many nowadays, with a lot of questions, and questions require priorities for answers. Is the crusade to check pollution at the top of history's agenda?

To get to Pete's home you clamber up a steep slope somewhere near the town of Beacon on the river's east bank. The roadway up really belongs to the 17th century when the Algonquin had the run of these lovely valleys. Seeger's mountain-top home, a warm, modest, rambling affair which he, his lovely wife Toshi and a few friends built with their own hands some years ago, looks westward and from its picture window you can see the river gleam, about the way it did when Henrik Hudson came up on his ship, the Half Moon, in 1609 gloating at the new Eden he had discovered. Pete said the intrepid Dutch explorer was unafraid to drink of the river and Henrik's log notes that he took some deep draughts of it, commenting appreciatively, "It is the sweetest water I have ever tasted." That was a long time ago, Pete said dryly.

The folk-singer wants to restore his damaged river to that old-time purity when men could not only drink of it but could also flourish off its bounty, its incomparable shad, its striped bass, its perch, its oysters on which, Pete said, the Indians feasted royally, leaving banks of shells you can still see, six feet thick at the water's edge. "They built palisades around their precious oyster beds," Pete commented. All gone now, a long-time gone.

To alert the river communities to return the Hudson to its ancient qualities, Pete helped raise money to have a handsome sloop built in Maine last year and he has already docked at many Hudson Valley towns and villages. They are old river ports of the 19th century when swarms of sloops like the Clearwater crossed and criss-crossed carrying foodstuffs and manufactured articles to the inhabitants. Pete sings to the towns' inhabitants down at the waterfront. They gather with an initial skepticism and stay to hear him celebrate the river's past glory and deplore its present degradation. He has not, he feels, been singing in vain. The concern is there. A folder of the project displays scores of headlines, newsstories and photographs, nation-wide, of his course up and down river visiting these Hudson towns. All speak respectfully and even appreciatively of the crusade, despite its unorthodox nature.

The folder he showed me was issued by the Hudson River Sloop Restoration, Inc., a setup Pete had much to do with to implement this dream for which thousands contributed dollars, and several hundreds have given their full-time labors to the enterprise. The organization has 3,000 members and "sloop clubs" in a dozen towns. The folder says:

"In 1969 the members... surprised themselves and everyone else by actually raising the money and putting on the river the beautiful 76-foot wooden cargo sloop Clearwater. She is already a symbol of Americans' determination to clean up the waters of our land."

The document indicates they are only "beginning." The projected accomplishments require the "talents of young and old, from all sections of our communities. It's going to be a lot of work."

Much is planned for this year. A good deal of that will be indicated during the scheduled nation-wide demonstrations on April 22 — Earth Day — on the country's campuses and elsewhere. In New York, the affair will be held under the auspices of the Environmental Action Coalition. And as I write I discover that Pete was chosen the honorary chairman of the April 22 Earth Day in New York City.

●

Pete stands there on his mountain, bearded, looking like a grounded sea captain. His proposal now is to clean up that river down there, rid it of the human and industrial wastes pouring into its tides day and night from a hundred and more communities, from cities as big as New York and Albany to scores of towns and villages, from a myriad of factories, hospitals, and even atomic installations. Pete spoke about all this without halt for many minutes until Toshi gently suggested a pause.

He grinned, took a deep breath, and resumed his indictment of the neglect which, he said, can eventually kill all life within the water, making the famous Hudson shad taste like a can of ESSO gasoline, annihilating the perch and consigning everything to the limbo where the oysters went. And unless something more is done scientifically and promptly, here and all over America, he feels humankind may well go the way of the Hudson shellfish. For it's not only our water, but our air, our soil, our lives, that are being poisoned by pollution, he warns.

"For a long, long while," Pete continued, "radicals have said, in effect: 'Let's cut out this gap between rich and poor, black and white. Then when all mankind is united we can solve any problems which face the race.'

"Now the scientists are telling us, 'Man must immediately — within a decade — solve our crises of biology, this rape of our resources, the imbalance and the poisoning of the biosphere which is air, and water, and land. Or the human race is kaput. All else can wait.'

"I think I have come to feel that these various crises are going to be solved simultaneously or not at all. In fact, the experience of the last year has tended to convince me they can be more easily solved if we work on them simultaneously.

"Once we sang, 'We shall inherit this earth and share its riches, with wealth and plenty for all.' I think I'd say now: 'We shall inherit this earth, and stop wasting its resources. We shall share its riches intelligently, for if we squander them,' Joe, 'stuff like oil, coal, minerals, fresh air and water, as a few rich people do now, there will soon be none left for anyone.' "

And, he said, his voice rising, "It's the rich people of the world who are going to have to limit population first. Thirty million new citizens of India this year caused less than one tenth the ecological damage as six million new U.S. citizens."

Talking with Pete is an adventure. Like millions here and over the world, I have admired his art and written of it for at least three decades. There he stands, in corduroys and lumberjack gear, his beard scraggly, his eyes as youthful as I remember 30 years back. There is something ageless about this tall man of the mountain.

I have long come to feel that here is a philosopher-troubadour, a man in the category of Mark Twain or, before him, of the Abolitionist poets — Whittier, Lowell, Bryant — an artist of the first rank imbued with old-fashioned patriotism and love of humanity, especially the poor and the working people.

"We sang work songs way back," he said, "before the days when anybody with cash could buy himself a guitar and call himself a folk-singer." He said that apropos of such characters as the young millionaire, who had just inherited money, then went on TV recently as a "folk-singer," God save the mark!

Pete said he believed that many who talk about pollution, about ecology, do so for reasons less than humanistic — private gain figures, and even something more sinister. After all, like the old spiritual, everybody talkin' 'bout Heaven ain't going there.

We got to that when I asked a question that has been

bothering me for some time: "How come, Pete, this issue of pollution sprang onto the center of the stage nationally only yesterday, so to speak. The problem was here last year and the year before and suddenly it is big and looming over both coasts and in between like a Damocles sword, perplexing and alarming a nation: it is on television, in newspapers, it is argued on the campus, the President has latched onto it, it is a giant and still-growing national issue. How come?"

●

Pete looked out the window at a distant sailboat and replied reflectively that the answer is involved. "Basically," he replied, "it is a matter of quantity piling up into quality, a qualitative change. The basin has overflowed." People know a lot of things are bad and getting worse. They experience it. They can taste it, smell it. The air is not so fresh as it was when Ben Franklin printed his Almanac. Hiawatha's waters are polluted with tin cans, junk, and worse.

"In fact," he said, "it occurred to me when I was sailing the Hudson a few years and suddenly I got a whiff, an odor, which did not smell of purity." It has happened to millions. Everybody hears of air pollution and lung cancer. There is smog, and many die, like in Donora, Pa., a few years back. The smell of gasoline permeates the city streets. Refuse lines the pavements and the countryside. It is like those lines

"Here we are, knee-deep in garbage
Firing rockets at the Moon . . ."

"Who doesn't feel that?" asked Pete. "And naturally there are those of evil savvy to take advantage of it: plenty of men in the Establishment work deliberately to get the public's mind off Vietnam and get it on pollution." In other words, he added with that booming articulateness which is his characteristic,"to stop America from worrying about moral pollution and get us hooked on stream pollution." That, I said, is exactly what's troubling me. But, he continued, there are numerous other factors, of a different nature: scientists began by worrying about Strontium 90 in the air, like Barry Commoner of American University in St. Louis. That brought him and no few of his colleagues to explore many other perils in our surroundings. Their magazine, called "Environment," ably reflects their work and apprehensions; it appeared originally in small circulation but now it has escalated into many thousands.

"The preoccupations of these scientists hooked up with people like me, or rather, before me, of people like Rachel Carson with her wonderful 'Silent Spring' and 'The Sea Around Us'. And many others. Books brought the matter to millions. Then groups like the Sierra Club began as esoteric, upper-class conservationists worried about the disappearance of the great redwoods and spoilage of the Yosemite. A process started which linked Sierra up to plain people; the interest in pollution deepened and spread. All these factors together, especially the work of science, its genuine concern, began to break through the mass media. Even people in the upper-classes began to feel there is no hiding place down here. They can't run away to the Riviera or to the sparkling beaches of Rio de Janeiro. For it is happening there too. Happening everywhere. The issue pushed through into the common domain. In the Ecology coalition behind New York's April 22nd teach-in can be found everyone from wealthy bird-lovers to welfare mothers, Mexican grape-strikers and air-pollution experts. We're all worried about environment. Not enough birds, too many rats, too many pesticides, not enough fresh air."

Pete carried on, in uncommon detail, denying that he was an ecology expert. "I've only read a number of books," he said, but he spoke in terms rare even to knowledgeable editorial ears. He used a word like "eutrophication," and immediately explained it: "a natural process in which a lake turns into a swamp."

And if you don't know it, eutrophication is happening to Lake Erie, which will disappear in its present form within a few centuries (Lake Erie has aged 15,000 years in 50 years. Normally it might last 150,000 years more) — unless a lot is done to prevent it. "And it will require 50 years even to begin to turn the tide," Pete said.

His concern is transforming him into something more than the amateur ecologist. He spoke of many things, emphasizing such facts as the danger to man because Nature cannot readily absorb the increased use of artificial fertilizers into its cycles of seasonal change. And suddenly this folk-singer was talking of animal manure and there was nothing incongruous about it. I thought of Ben Franklin, who tells in his autobiography of walking down a London street behind a garbage wagon which was spilling some of its contents into the street. This prompted Franklin to devise a better vehicle which the London City Council adopted. And way back didn't Heraclitus, the philosopher, occupy himself with drainage systems, which involved matters of civic health? And, after all, what can be more polluted than matters about which Pete has been singing a long time — poverty, racism, and especially the war?

So he got onto the matter of animal manure, which once was used to fertilize farmlands, became part of the soil and entered the rhythm of the seasons and change. "But chemical compounds now used for fertilizer baffle old Mother Nature. She can't handle them." He said that animal husbandry in western New York State fattens cattle up for the market. "Vast heaps of manure accumulate." In a previous day this stuff was disposed of on the farmlands to enrich the yield. Now it drains into America's rivers and lakes by the millions of tons. This has caused a multitude of unnatural growths in the waters, disturbing the natural balance of things, using up the oxygen necessary for underwater life and killing it off. Algae bloom evilly and much else.

Pete also spoke of the 14 percent more carbon dioxide in the atmosphere today than there was at the turn of the century, "a big oxygen imbalance that can result in vast environmental change."

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As for New York State, Pete did not think Albany was beginning to cope with the question. The moneys allotted so far merely grapple with one stage of the problem: getting rid of raw waste. Then there is a second stage, disposing of massive volumes of "unnatural bacteria" in the water. Governor Rockefeller has allotted some two to three billions for the first stage, "but we haven't even begun to tackle the second stage, not to speak of the third, getting rid of those exesss nutrients in the water that create big alterations."

Pete spoke of the enormous outlay in moneys needed to solve the problems of ecology "to set our house straight. You know ecology comes from the Greek word meaning 'house,' or housekeeping, and we have let the house run down. It will cost an awful lot of money to repair the damage. Take the small town, Glens Falls, up toward the headwaters of the Hudson. A plant costing $55,000,000 is required to clean the waste from the paper mills polluting the water in that region. And take Albany, with its 750,000 people. It is spending $75,000,000 for a plant that will only take care of the primary stuff, treat human sewage. Now add industrial wastes like the oil Penn Central has been dumping into the Hudson at its Harmon-Croton roundhouse and repair station. Then the atomic electric power plant near Peekskill gives thermal pollution (heated water) to the river, and radioactive waters to air and land."

In Pete's opinion what has been done so far to combat this, or even projected so far, officially, constitutes mere "tokenism." That is the conclusion one gets from President Nixon's projected $10 billion anti-pollution allotment, Pete said. "Tokenism!"

In Pete's opinion to do the job right will require at least what the Pentagon and the Vietnam war now get in appropriations — the Pentagon's $70 billion, Vietnam's $30 billion. "It is the opinion of all the technical experts it will take over $100 billion to give USA clean rivers and lakes."

Heading off this creeping national catastrophe requires colossal planning and money. The problem won't begin to be solved unless it is established as a major national priority, tackled the way the needs to wage war are tackled.

"In other words," I asked, "just as you can't have guns and butter, you can't have guns and clean air?"

"Right!" Pete bounced back: "A good assignment for our Army and our Army engineers would be to build sewage plants and everything else required to rescue the country from destruction by pollution. That would be a much more constructive operation than what they're doing now."

Pete said he projects that solution in his songs and talks to the inhabitants of the Hudson Valley. "I have gone into many towns, some of which have voted Republican since Abe Lincoln's time. They come down to listen and they have a quizzical look in their eyes. I tell about pollution and its cure and invariably they ask, 'Where will you get the money?Taxes?' Taxes is a bad word in the Hudson Valley. Like elsewhere. And I suggest where the money can be found:

'If you love your Uncle Sam
Bring 'em home, bring 'em home,
If you'll help your Uncle Sam
Bring 'em home, bring 'em home.'

"When I finish the song there's cheering. I cup my ear with my hand and say, 'Let's be democratic. If anyone disagrees, let's give them freedom to boo!' There's five seconds of silence and then everyone laughs."

SAILING DOWN MY DIRTY RIVE
FOLK SINGER PETE SEEGER DOES MORE THAN JUST SING ABOU
DIRTY HUDSON RIVER; NOW HE SAILS IT ON THE SLOOP, CLEARW
TO BRING HIS MESSAGE TO THE PEOPLE...
Hudson R oop sets
sail for New ork City
Come Tr
DAILY N
DAILY NEWS, WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 6, 196
Their Song: 'Clean Up the Huds
By FRANK McLAUGHLIN
Pete Seeger Sails
By GEORGE BRAY
They'll Come on a Sloop
To Sing a River Clean
Pete Seeger's Dream:
A Clean, Clear Hudson
Hope Of The Hudson
Romantic Ship
Sloop Clearwater Arrives in Albany
Mighty River
Sloop on Mission to Purify Huds
The Hudson: Yo-Ho-Ho
---And a Bucket of Mud

FACT FILE / POLLUTION

COMPILED BY MARGRIT PITTMAN

WHO AND HOW?

The Nixon administration has found a new crusade. Pollution. Everybody knows it is a problem, and everybody wishes something could be done about it. The question, as in any story, is who and how. We know the when and where. Who and how are the imponderables. Who is responsible for pollution and how is it going to be cleaned up?

THE POLLUTERS

Early this year, 13 companies were charged with polluting the tributary waters of the New York harbor, including E.I. du Pont de Nemours & Co., and Texaco, Inc. On Jan. 30, two of the companies pleaded guilty and were fined a mere $750 each. The firms pleading builty were the Distribution Center of Bayonne, Inc., a subsidiary of Rollins International, Inc., and the General Aniline and Film Corp.

On Feb. 5, the Consolidated Edison and the Van Idenstein Co. pleaded guilty in a Federal court in Brooklyn of polluting New York City waterways. They had been indicted, with five other firms, 18 months earlier. Maximum penalty for the defendants was $2,500.

On Feb. 10, the Justice Department charged 11 firms, including the International Harvester Company, the Olin Corp. and Proctor and Gamble with water pollution.

On Feb. 15, the Federal government filed pollution suits against 10 more companies including the Mobil Oil Corp., Atlantic Richfield Co., Youngstown Sheet & Tube Co., Cities Service Oil Co., Du Pont Co., Phillips Pipe Line Co. (a subsidiary of Phillips Petroleum Co.); Inland Steel Co., Standard Oil Co. of Indiana and its American Oil Co. subsidiary, and the U.S. Steel Corp. All were charged with polluting Lake Michigan or the Grand Calumet river.

. . . AND IN THE STATES

The federal government is not the only agency to file suit against industrial enterprises. On March 16, the state of Florida filed a $250 million suit against the Humble Oil & Refining Co., the state of California filed a suit against four major autoobile makers and the Automobile Manufacturers Association charging conspiracy to halt the development of auto anti-smog devices.

That same day, two oyster fishermen of Buras, La., filed suit against the Chevron Oil Co. as a result of oil slicks spreading from an offshore well of the Standard Oil Co. of California. That suit was called a "class action" on behalf of about 1,000 oyster fishermen who sought $31.5 million in damages.

On March 19 a Federal Grand Jury in Chicago indicted the U.S. Steel Corp. for polluting Lake Michigan.

These are merely a few cases. They show two things: that industry is the culprit and that the punishment for the crime, when imposed, is a mere slap on the wrist.

THE ANTI-POLLUTION BUSINESS

Anti-pollution devices are profitable business. The WALL STREET JOURNAL reports (Feb. 13) that many companies are eager to "capitalize on what's becoming a hot stock market trend. Besides a rash of new concerns with bewilderingly similar names based on the words environment, ecology and pollution, some older companies with only slim ties to the field are being promoted as pollution control concerns. . . .The reason, of course, is that pollution control stocks are among the few securities that have been performing well in a generally depressed market. On Oct. 1, for instance, the price of Wheelabrator Corp. shares was $21.50; yesterday the stock closed at $45. In the same period, Ecological Science Corp. has risen from about $14 to $27.50. Research-Cotrell Inc. has gone up from $38.50 to $59.62½. All these companies have major stock in the pollution-control business."

The WSJ reports that Nalco Chemical Co., which has been in the business of purifying water since the 1920s, has had sales increases "at an annual rate of 22% for the past five years and Mr. Bott (a Nalco official) expects this to accelerate."

Business concerns look for public funds to finance this bonanza. "President Nixon has called on state, local and Federal governments to spend $10 billion to construct sewage treatment plants," the WSJ article explains. "One study by the Federal Water Pollution Control Administration estimates $26 billion to $29 billion would have to be spent by 1973 to bring streams and lakes up to the clean-water standards set by the Federal government. Nobdy knows how much money must be spent to clear the air."

WHO IS TO PAY?

Industry's feeling about pollution was summed up by Brooks McCormick, president of the International Harvester Company. "Our company intends to prevent pollution of water and air by its facilities — within the limits of technical and economic feasibility," he told a meeting of industrialists discussing water pollution last Oct. 23. "Any management today that does not understand its responsibility to society for degradation of the environment is derelict in its duty," he said. "But an even greater dereliction would be its failure to percieve and adopt a strategy of action that will provide the income for maintaining the profitablity of the enterprise."

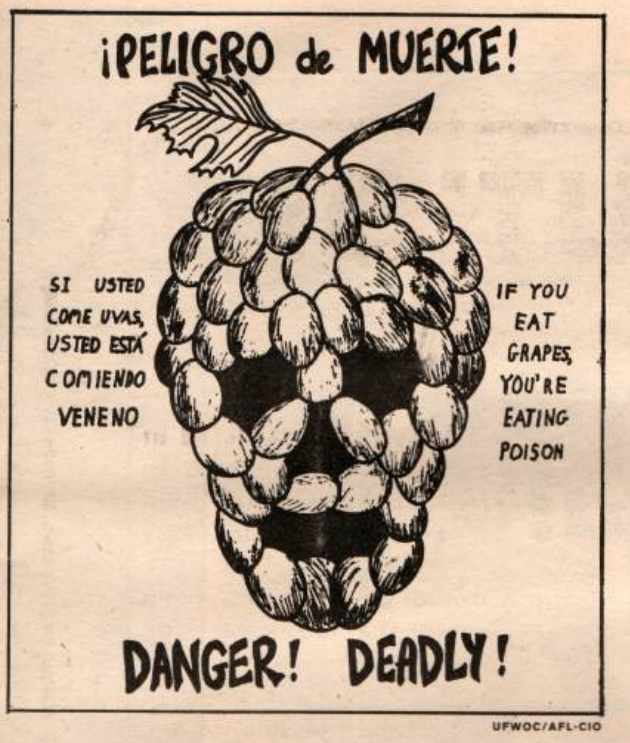
FORTUNE magazine (Feb. 1970) reflects candidly the industry's concern about the profits in cleaning up pollution. That magazine interviewed 270 chief executives from FORTUNE's annual list of the 500 largest industrial enterprises. Asked abqut the most effective incentive for tackling pollution problems, 59% favor tax credits for pollution costs, 11% thought that government grants should match company expenditures, 5% favored government subsidies.

The Fortune inquiry found that only 44% of the companies questioned have any anti-pollution budget at all. Even then, it is a very small part of the overall expenditure; 19% of the companies reviewed spent less than 1% of their 1969 capital budget for pollution control; 32% spent 1 to 3%.

POLLUTION AS AN ISSUE

It is not that the nation's top executives are unaware of the pollution dangers. Asked to rate the performance of eight basic industries, using a scale from 10 to 1 (poor), the respondents rated the efforts of the steel, detergents, auto manufacturing, oil refining, coal, and pulp and paper industries between four and five. Only electric utility and oil exploration were rated above five, electric utilities taking the top spot with a rating of six.

One interesting factor emerged from the FORTUNE survey. Even among the nation's top business leaders, the administrator's hopes that an attack on pollution would force other issues to the background did not materialize. When asked to range environmental concerns among 10 issues, the "average response of the panel as a whole was to put it about fifth in importance, well ahead of tax reform and health care, but well behind Vietnam, inflation, and law and order. As one Los Angeles industrialist put it: 'We won't have to worry about pollution if we don't solve some of these other problems first.' "


¡PELIGRO de MUERTE!
SI USTED COME UVAS, USTED ESTÁ COMIENDO VENENO
IF YOU EAT GRAPES, YOU'RE EATING POISON
DANGER! DEADLY!
UFWOC/AFL-CIO

Poison in the vineyard

El Malcriado

"I was working in the Elmco Vineyards, tipping grape bunches in May 1969, when four tractor-driven spray rigs came into the field. Without any warning, one of them came right over to the spot where I was working, spraying me soaking wet and blinding me to the point that I almost fell under the spray rig. Other women workers dragged me away from the danger of the rig. My supervisor did not take me to a doctor until I became visibly sick. Until then I had merely been told to sit in the shade under the vine. I was vomiting a great deal by this time. After I was taken to a doctor, who gave me an injection and bathed my eyes, I was returned to the vineyards where I had to wait for a ride home until the other workers were finished for the day. I was extremely ill for the next 10 days with vomiting, nausea, trembling, dizziness, headache, difficulty in breathing, tightness of chest, and difficulty in sleeping. I am still suffering from the aftereffects of this illness. To date I have received no compensation from my employer. When I asked my supervisor and foreman what kind of chemical I had been sprayed with, they claimed they didn't know and said it was not their fault that I had been sprayed."

— A woman in the fields

By DODIE LINDSAY

Farmworkers suffer the highest rate of occupational disease in the United States. It is largely a result of the indiscriminate use of pesticides. The growers are using the wrong poisons, in the wrong amounts, in the wrong places, in reckless disregard of the workers' health.

A 1969 California Public Health Department survey, conducted primarily among grape pickers, found that 80% of the workers investigated suffered symtoms of pesticide poisoning, including rashes, loss of hair and fingernails, vision impairment and convulsions.

Pesticides fall into two chemical categories: chlorinated hydrocarbons and organophosphates. The chlorinated hydrocarbons are long-life poisons which do not immediately break-down and are stored in the fatty tissue. DDT is of this type. The organophosphates are highly toxic, but shorter lived. A drop or two of parathion, for example, is immediately fatal to a human being. Parathion is an offshoot of nerve gas developed in Germany during World War II.

A few years ago 16 workers were hospitalized for parathion poisoning. They were working in a field 33 days after it had been sprayed. The law claims that the fields are safe after 14 days. Clearly they aren't.

Farmworkers live in the immediate vicinity of their work. Whole families are often exposed to pesticide sprays and suffer the effects of them. The spray equipment is left lying around where children get to it. The only warning signs are in English. Dr. Lee Mizrahi, of Tulare County, one of the nation's major grape growing regions, reported that children were among the chief victims of what was called a "pesticide epidemic."

Pesticides are also dangerous to the consumer. Laboratory analyses conducted on table grapes being sold in supermarkets around the country have consistently revealed significant DDT, aldrin, parathion and other chemical residues. Pesticide residues can often be seen on grapes in the stores. The pesticides penetrate the fruit, and therefore cannot be washed off. Evidence from medical research links pesticides with cancer, leukemia, birth deformities and sex organ disorders.

Grapes contain a particularly large chemical residue. The Senate Subcommittee on Migratory Labor disclosed recently that grapes purchased in a Safeway Store in Washington, D.C. contained 180 times the maximum "safe" residue of the poison aldrin.

There are laws regulating the use of pesticides and providing for proper protection in handling them, but much of the legislation is either unenforced or irrelevant to the real hazards.

As of March 1, 1970, California banned the used of DDT on grapes. This was the result of public pressure — much of it generated by the farm workers. But it is only a small beginning for it in no way deals with the use of other pesticides which are equally or more dangerous. In fact, as a result of the DDT ban, the growers are increasing the use of parathion.

In contract negotiations the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee (UFWOC) is specifically demanding that the long-lived chlorinated hydrocarbons be banned altogether, and that for the next few years, until a biological equilibrium has been restored, the organophosphates be used in strictly limited quantity.

Without the UFWOC, and its power of collective bargaining, the laws regulating the use of pesticides will never be enforced and new ones will never be enacted.

The farm workers propose that through the grape boycott, they and the consumers work together in a practical step to stop the misuse of pesticides on table grapes, and eventually throughout agriculture: "Union contracts are the only sure way to secure safe job conditions for workers and pure food for consumers."

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Note: Some of the material for this report was obtained from *El Malcriado* (The Voice of the Farm Worker), January, 1970, published in Delano, California.

Editor's memo

It was a refreshing experience, as you may have gathered, to encounter the bounce, the exuberance, of Pete Seeger, the man who may get older but who will never grow old. Why? Because here is a man of the people who has that quality of timelessness and universality that great artists have. Mark Twain had it, Walt Whitman, and I can add that some of the best members of the *People's World* and of the predecessors of the *Daily World* had.

On the Pacific Coast there was the unforgettable Mike Quin, master of satire, who had the most-read column in the movement in his all-too-brief stay among us. His base was among his beloved longshoremen and others in the Labor movement on the Coast, but his fame spread beyond Labor. Men like Theodore Dreiser honored him and wrote the foreword to that treasured collection of his columns called "On The Drumhead."

Woody Guthrie, patron saint of folksingers, also came out of the West: his first offerings appeared in the *People's World* as well as in the old *Sunday Worker* which he loved to refer to as the Sabbath Employe.

Then there was Mike Gold, that old grand master of proletarian writing. Until his death a few years back he presided over his space in the *People's World* and *The Worker* with an ageless wisdom that grew out of his preoccupation with the affairs of the working class all his life.

Pete Seeger has all these as his early contemporaries, and he had such folk in his family as well. His uncle was Alan Seeger, who wrote perhaps the best known poem of World War I—

I have a rendezvous with death
at some disputed barricade.

Pete's rendezvous has been with life and that is why he is in there to preserve the Earth. End that war and you end the greatest menace to man's existence. I say that history is wise when she chooses April 22 to be Earth Day as well as Lenin Day, about which I will deal next week. I maintain that the preservation of the Earth will come through the understanding of Lenin's life and works.

Yes, the strong men keep coming on, as Carl Sandburg sang, and Pete Seeger is one of them. And I see others in the pages of the *People's World* in the West and in the *Daily World* in the East. These are the people who know where the flowers have gone, and who know how best to navigate "Old Muddy."

Joseph North

Editor, World Magazine

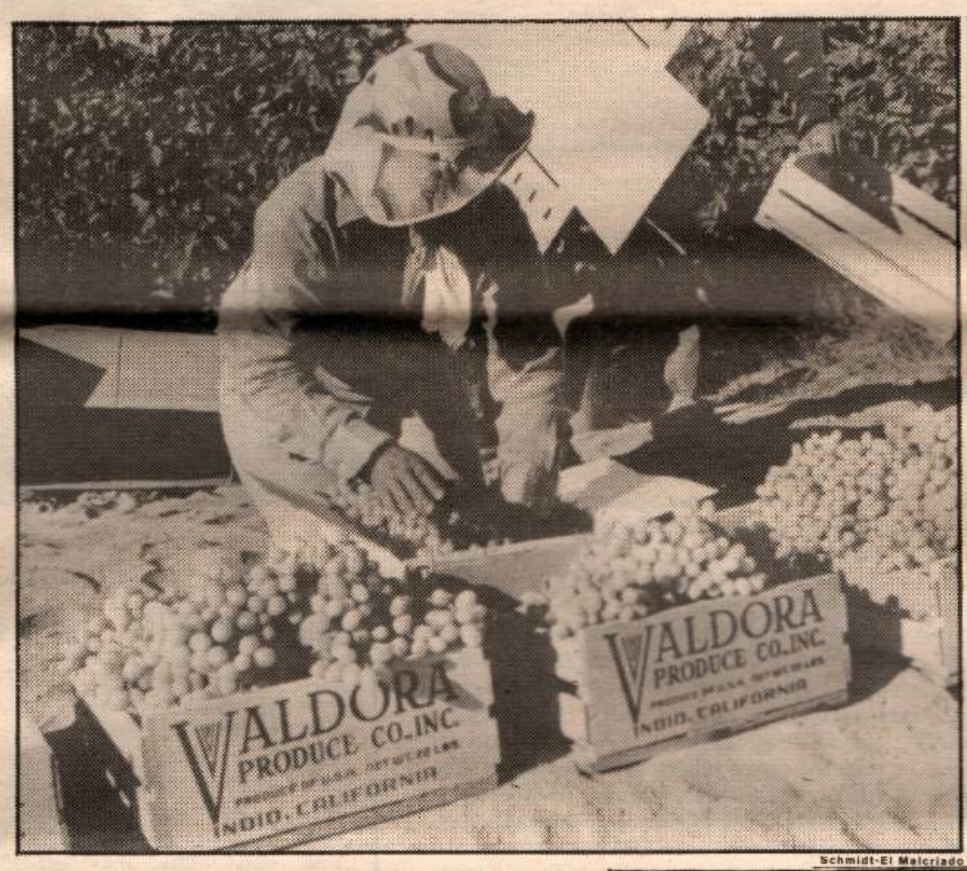
Grapes with a union label will be available to consumers now. At the end of March the AFL-CIO United Farm Workers Organizing Committee signed a union contract with Travertine Ranch, Wonder Palms Ranch and David Friedman & Co. The boycott of scab grapes will continue, however.

The growers have learned the meaning of 'Huelga!'

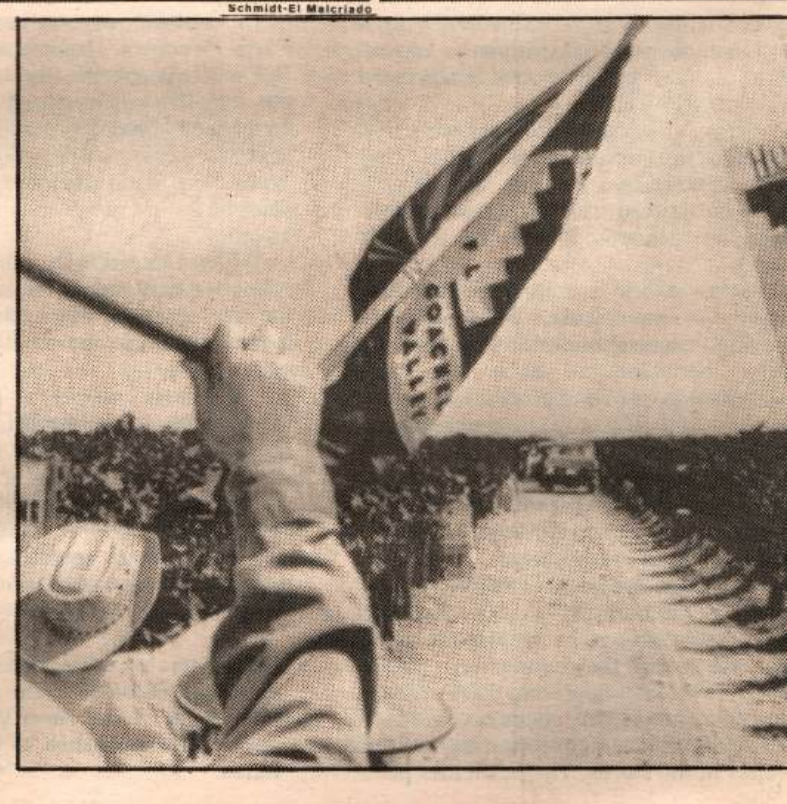
By JOE GRAHAM

". . . The concept of a union for farm workers is like an idea whose time for birth has come. The hour is here. We can never be so bold to think that it was merely 'our' strategy that brought Schenley and DiGiorgio contracts into being. It was that, plus the years of suffering, planning, organizing, striking and learning which went before. . . ."

Cesar Chavez, Director
United Farm Workers
Organizing Committee, AFL-CIO



Schmidt-El Malcriado



SAN JOSE, Calif.

The largest industry in California is Agribusiness. In 1968 it represented a $4.25 billion business. California grows more cotton, and more fresh fruits and vegetables, including grapes, than any other state. At peak season there are 400,000 farm workers in California. About 200,000 of them are regular agricultural workers, employed most of the year.

Other large industries associated with agricultural production are canning, meat packing, dairy production, fresh fruit and vegetable packing, cold storage and warehousing, farm machinery and chemical production, and the retail food stores, of which Safeway is the second largest chain store in the nation.

The biggest landowners in California are Bank of America (largest commercial bank in the world), Southern Pacific Railroad (by virtue of 19th century land steals amounting to 20 million acres), and Kern County Land Company (now a subsidiary of Tenneco, Inc., a Texas-based oil conglomerate).

The boards of directors of the banks, land companies and the retail food stores interlock with each other and with those of the largest growers in California. On the board of directors of Safeway, for example, is Ernest C. Arbuckle who is also a director of Kern County Land Company and the J.I. Case Company, a producer of farm machinery. Another Safeway director is Robert Macowan, also a director of the Southern Pacific Railroad and Del Monte Properties (which is one of the largest growers in California and owns 18,000 acres on the Monterey Peninsula).

In California, small family-owned farms still survive, but they are fast disappearing — gobbled up by the big growers, or at the mercy of the banks, processors and land speculators.

To fully comprehend the struggle of the Chicano farm workers today one must know their history of oppression, and their affinity with other nationally oppressed peoples, especially the Indians. Both are native to this land. Both are victims of the brutal, treacherous military conquest by the United States government. The Indian and Chicano peoples are tied to each other ethnically, culturally, and historically — rooted in a common oppression. Their struggle assumes three dimensions: ethnic, national and class.

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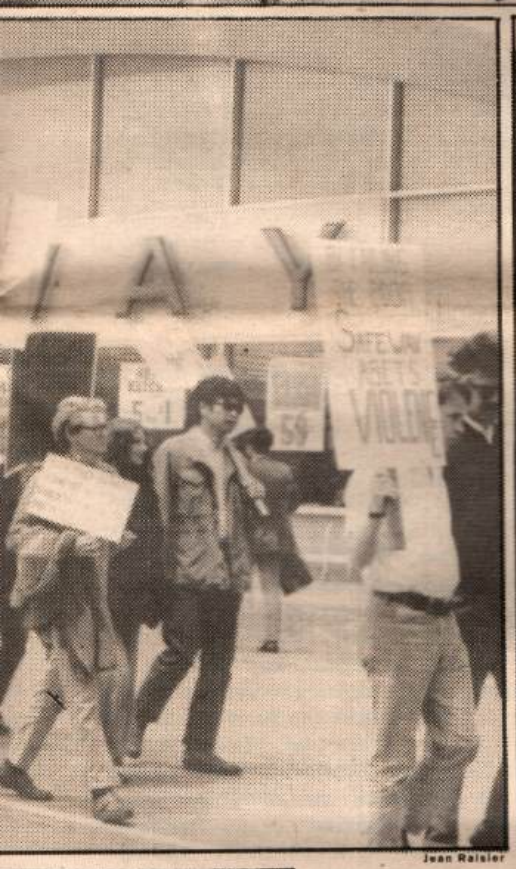
Two hundred years ago the Spanish Conquistadores and the Church fathers set up a mission system that enslaved tens of thousands of California Indians. Within a few years hundreds of thousands of heads of cattle were grazing on the hills. The Spanish Missions flourished, profiting off the labor of the Indians. Hides and tallow from the cattle were especially profitable.

The Indian and Mestizo "vaquero" was the main producer of wealth under the Mission and landed-gentry systems. Hollywood movies notwithstanding, it was the California "vaquero" who developed the techniques and lore of western cattle-raising long before the Anglo cowboy arrived. The "vaquero" was the superb horseman and roper.

There were Indian revolts and uprisings against this Mission slave-system. They were brutally suppressed. When the Missions were finally secularized (1830-1836) tens of thousands of Indians were freed from the slave system, but left landless and homeless, unable to earn a decent living. The Indians were supposed to have gotten land and cattle as the Mission system was dismantled. Very few actually did. They became instead serfs and peons for the landed-gentry who took over the land.

The Indian peoples suffered near-decimation in California as a result of poverty, disease and the genocidal practices of Anglo land-grabbers. Thereafter, the native mestizos and the Chinese immigrants were the main source of cheap labor until the 1880's. Then, from all parts of the world, poverty-stricken workers were brought to California to work the "Factories in the Fields." With few exceptions these workers were dark-skinned peoples — Japanese, Filipino, East Indian, Black and Mexican. All resisted the conditions of servitude forced upon them.

During and after the U.S. military conquest of the Southwest, the Chicano people resisted



Jean Raisler

Schmidt-El Malcriado

United Press International

Top, then right to left: Migratory farm workers in the fields; a woman kneels in the dirt to pack grapes in the 120-degree heat of the Coachella Valley; San Francisco pickets in front of Safeway on International Boycott Day, May 10, 1969; Pete Cardenas, an organizer for the union, signs up strikers in the Coachella Valley; Coachella grape pickers walk out of the fields for higher wages, better working conditions, and fringe benefits.

oppression, and organized for their liberation. All their struggles joined together economic demands with their national aspirations.

Carey McWilliams, in his book **North From Mexico,** wrote: "The rebellion of the immigrants (Mexican workers) found expression in the form of militant trade-unionism; in more than one field, Mexican immigrants have been pioneers of the trade union movement in the Southwest."

Dr. Octavo Romano V, an anthropologist from the University of California at Berkeley, agreed: "From the 1880's until World War II, they (Chiano workers) participated by the tens of thousands in the strikes in the mining, cattle and agricultural industries of the Southwest, at times incurring military counter-action."

Over the years the farm workers made many vigorous efforts to organize into unions. In 1903 the American Federation of Labor undertook the first large-scale organizing drive among the farm workers. From 1910 to the First World War, the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) conducted another major organizing drive. The militant class struggle of the IWW won many local victories and brought the organization of the farm workers to its most advanced level. Subsequent organizing was done mainly by organizations apart from the official bodies of the organized labor movement. Throughout this period the Mexican, Filipino and Anglo dust-bowlers conducted militant battles.

In the early 1930's the most effective movement of the farm workers was led by the Communist Party. It was a union known as the Agricultural Workers Industrial League. It was affiliated with the Trade Union Unity League (TUUL), led by the venerable William Z. Foster. The distinguishing feature of the TUUL was that it sought to build a maximum unity between all workers — Chicano, Filipino, Black and the Anglo dust-bowlers.

Out of the Thirties only one permanent union emerged — that was among the fresh fruit and vegetable packing shed workers (mainly skilled Anglos).

In more recent times the International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) organized the Hawaiian farm workers.

There are also strong unions in many of the industries dependent upon agriculture. The ILWU, for example, is in the warehouses, canneries and cotton processing industries. Teamsters have also organized canneries and cold storage, dairy products, warehouses, packing sheds and transport. Likewise there is a strong union in meat packing (Butchers Union, AFL-CIO), and in the wineries (Chemical Workers, AFL-CIO).

Still, it is true that after nearly 100 years of organizing attempts and militant struggle the job is yet to be completed in the fields of California. Why? Some of the main reasons are:

- The migrant nature of a considerable part of the work force;
- Isolating the farm workers from the urban workers;
- Violence of the growers and the repressive government apparatus at their disposal;
- Division among the workers based on race and nationality;
- The failure of the main body of organized labor to throw its full resources into this vital task;
- The inability of the farm workers to obtain full support from other forces such as churches, political bodies, etc.

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In September 1965, farm workers — grape pickers — in Delano, California, went out on strike. It was initiated by the union of the Filipino workers — The Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee, under the leadership of Larry Itliong. Unity became a reality when the Chicano workers, organized into the National Farm Workers Association, led by Cesar Chavez, joined the strike. The unity was consummated in the formation of one union — the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee (UFWOC), AFL-CIO.

La Huelga (as the strike is called), and the international boycott of all California grapes, represents the longest and most bitter struggle in the history of farm labor. The boycott is a very difficult form of economic struggle, but this one has gained the kind of urban support that puts victory on the agenda. As Cesar Chavez explained : "The tool of the Strike is only a starting point. The best weapon yet devised to complement the strike is the boycott; and the boycott means coalesced, public support. . ."

More has been won in this strike than ever before:

- The UFWOC has conducted and won three boycotts against some of the largest grape growers and wine producers in the country: Schenley, DiGiorgio and Perelli-Minetti. As a result of their success the union negotiated contracts with twelve other major wine producers.
- These contracts include job security, stewards, seniority, hiring hall, disability, health safeguards, medical plan, vacations and paid time off for jury duty and family funerals. These contract stipulations had been unheard of in the California farm industry.
- The grape workers strike has now been extended into the Caochella Valley of California and into Arizona.

La Huelga continues and it grows in strength. This strike, and the union born of it, is the culmination of literally "a hundred years war" of the farm workers for economic justice and national liberation.

As a Panther leader sees it

'We must have solidarity here'

By ELLEN PERLO

"When you start to move off the red-white-and-blue path, when you try to exercise your constitutional rights, Boom! Down comes the repression! And the repression that has taken place in Chicago should be a warning, a reminder of Joe McCarthy and Nazi Germany," said Ed Hull, young, personable Defense Captain of the Black Panthers of Westchester County. He was speaking at a party in Cortlandt to raise funds for the New York 21.

"A lot of people get up tight when they hear the word revolution," he continued, "but they shouldn't. It doesn't mean that all black people will grab guns and shoot all white people. Revolution is not a matter of race — it is a class issue. Although race is certainly a factor when you have a white society."

There was much more, and it made sense. After the party was over, I asked Hull to grant me an interview so that he could elaborate the program, aims, and problems of the Panthers in Westchester. I had just read the article by Gerald Emanuel Stearn in the New York Times Magazine of March 8, and that account of a Westchester white liberal gathering to meet and question two Black Panther leaders varied drastically from my impressions at the comparable get-together.

So a couple of weeks later I was welcomed by Ed Hull in the temporary Mt. Vernon headquarters of the Westchester Black Panther Party, a narrow storefront in the heart of the ghetto. On the walls were posters of Bobby Seale and Huey Newton and other jailed leaders. There were also placards announcing community programs and calling for community control. There were several straight-back chairs, a couple of table desks and a typewriter. Files were makeshift. My host and his two young Panther sisters indicated that contributions of office furnishings would be welcomed — the Party is not foundation-endowed. Unlike the "Billy" and "Joe" of Mr. Stearn's article, "Ed" did not drawl. His voice was low and calm until he started to explain something that meant a lot to him — then he gestured, just like my son does, and just like Westchester Congressman Richard Ottinger did on his T.V. appeal for Senatorial support. And, Mr. Stearn to the contrary, he did not look as though he was wearing a "pseudo-uniform." He was wearing a light sport jacket. Sure, his hair was bushy, and he was wearing a chin beard, too — the same kind my other son sports.

The Black Panthers, he explained, are primarily concerned with the problems of the black people all over the country. "Before Huey and Bobby drew up the Panther program," he said, "they went into the black communities, to the people, to find out what was needed, what was wanted, what they were willing to do. Then these ideas were incorporated into a 10-point program to relate to the needs of all black people."

Hunger, he said, is a real problem. Wherever there is poverty — and it exists wherever there are black people, even in Westchester, the richest county in the United States — there is hunger, and inadequate medical treatment, inadequate clothing, poor and dilapidated housing. In the project areas of White Plains, on Ferris Avenue, for example, average family income is $3,500, he told me. Portchester is very bad, and so are New Rochelle, Yonkers and Mt. Vernon. (Subsequently, a legal aid attorney who works in the area called Peekskill "one massive slum.")

Hull said that the masses of people are not ready to accept the concept of socialism because they know nothing about it but the propaganda they have been reading for years in the press. The people will have to be educated, he said, and the Black Panthers are trying to educate by example. That means, he explained, that they set up their headquarters in the center of the communities in which they work, and live and work with and for the people.

In White Plains, 60 to 70 breakfasts are served a day at the Carver Community Center, and in Mt. Vernon a free health and medical center is being organized for which eight doctors and two dentists and three nurses have offered their services. Additional facilities are planned and eagerly awaited.

Panther centers are open to all for information, advice and help. The people are very receptive and interest has been growing in the four largest Westchester cities. "The movement has been receiving beautiful support from the Mt. Vernon black community," Ed Hull said, "and there has been good support from the liberal white community as well. But, so far, trade union interest has not been tapped, except among GM auto workers from Tarrytown, who relate to our program."

Harassment has been continuous and unjustified, primarily for selling the Black Panther newspaper, he stated. "Every time a member is picked up by the police, neighborhood friends report it. Otherwise there would be no way for the brothers to know," Hull said. And the reports are made despite the fact that the police have the Panther headquarters under constant surveillance. Hull said he is tailed wherever he goes, even to Foley Square.

To date there have been 14 arrests in Mt. Vernon for selling the newspaper. The local court has decreed that it is a crime to appear on the streets with more than one copy of the paper—the charge: peddling without a license. In one instance, Hull reported, seven police cars surrounded the U-Haul trailer the Panthers were using for newspaper distribution. The vendors were taken to the police station and the papers confiscated.

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Next we discussed the drug scene. Drugs have been a problem in the ghetto for years, Hull stated, and the use of dope has always been of great concern to the Black Panthers. Now, however, there is a great tumult because the middle class suburban kids, sons and daughters of doctors and lawyers and architects, have been hooked. So there are all kinds of programs and investigations and publicity. But the problem will exist, Hull predicted, as long as there is a profit system and as long as the cops and the suppliers are in cahoots. "It is part and parcel of the capitalist system," he said.

"We have to combat the dope being pushed into our communities. We don't want it and we will work to get it out. We are forming block committees to patrol the areas; we are for community control in order to minimize police control. Our people must act for themselves; the cops come in from outside and don't give a damn. We have to keep the pushers out."

One of the allegations in the **New York Times** article was that the Black Panthers are anti-Semitic, and there was a reprint of a distasteful poem. I asked my host about the attitude of his group toward the Jews.

"The Panthers are not anti-Semitic and do not lump all Jews with slumlords," he said, "but we are anti-Zionist. We cannot relate to any puppet imperialist state, and that is what Israel is." He went into the imperialist position of Israel and, from there, to the aggressive imperialism of the United States in Vietnam, contending that the struggle of the Vietnamese for self-determination is the same as the struggle of the black people here in the United States.

When I asked him about terrorism, Hull said that "the Black Panthers are not terroristic. Our primary job is to serve the black community, and we will not use any terroristic means against the people. That accusation was started by the Establishment to alienate the people from the Party. But the people we do get through to, relate to our program, to our determination on the right to self defense. They take that. We will not provoke violence anyplace, but we will protect ourselves against violence. That is a constitutional right.

"We are now in a pre-revolutionary stage. The people are not ready for revolution yet. People are the motive force. When they are ready to move, down the drain with imperialism!"

He stressed again the need to educate the people, and to set an example by "living socialism" among the people. I asked him what his Party means by claiming to be Marxist-Leninist-oriented and what its attitude is toward the socialist countries and the U.S. Communist Party. He did not get "up tight" (as Mr. Stearn claimed his interviewees did at a similar question), and explained that the Black Panthers relate to proletarian internationalism, that they go along with all the countries of socialism in cooperating against imperialism.

"The United States," he said, "is the head of the octopus, and we must attack it here, in the U.S. The socialist camp cannot be divided. And we must have solidarity here, a united front against U.S. fascism. We cannot split from any group that is fighting U.S. capitalism at home. It is a very corrupt system and it will take a lot to fight it."

I recalled what Jeremiah Gutman, an attorney for the Black Panthers in Westchester, had said at the fund-raising affair a few weeks earlier: "Look back to Nazi Germany. Dissidents were picked up and eliminated one at a time. That is what is happening to the Panthers here, now. It is a tough, brave, and expensive thing to fight the system."

In conclusion, I asked Hull to tell me something about himself and about other members of the Party. He said that members come from all strata: from college graduates (one of the New York 21 is a Ph.D.) to school dropouts. And all levels in-between. "We are from all walks of life, all those who relate to the people, to the liberation of all poor and oppressed people," he said.

Hull himself is 27 years old, a college graduate, a laboratory technologist formerly at General Foods Corporation, a job he took when he completed his air force hitch after he got out of college in Michigan. He was born in South Carolina and remembers full days picking cotton when he was six and seven years old. "It was a man's job," he recalled." I worked as long and had as big a sack on my back as anyone else." The family—parents and eight children, of whom Ed is the oldest—moved North when he was ten.

"When I left college," he said, "I looked for pie in the sky. I couldn't find it. Then I read Eldridge Cleaver's 'Soul on Ice' and that was it."

Ed Hull

World Magazine

Artie Seale

United Press International

Mrs. Seale: 'We want a class change'

By SUE DEVLIN

NEW HAVEN, Conn.

"Raise a clenched fist for Bobby," Mrs. Artie Seale instructed her three-year-old son. Malik Nkrumah Staggalee Seale, who looks like a six-year-old and likes to tell strangers that he is five, raised his little hand in a Black Panther power salute, grinned and then rubbed his large brown eyes as a camera flash went off.

Mrs. Seale, 23, the tall and strikingly handsome wife of Black Panther National Chairman Bobby G. Seale, is here awaiting the trial of her husband and eight other Black Panthers charged with murder, kidnap and conspiracy in the death of Alex Rackley, a Panther from New York. (Rackley, listed by the Panthers as a "member in good standing murdered by the pigs" was found dead in a swamp near here last May.

Since Bobby Seale was extradited under heavy guard from California March 13, Black Panther leadership from across the U.S. has been gathering in this New England town to coordinate the national defense campaign, to "Free Bobby."

Shortly after Seale's extradition, the Panthers held an open house at their apartment-headquarters on Sylvan Avenue. Leaflets were widely distributed inviting community people to meet Mrs. Seale.

In preparation, the Panthers redecorated their headquarters. New blue and gold linoleum was laid in the front rooms; walls were scraped and repainted. Posters of Huey P. Newton, Eldridge Cleaver and Bobby Seale were hung. One full wall was decorated with front pages from the Panther newspaper.

From 11 a.m. to 8 p.m. high school students, freed by the Easter vacation, and community people of all ages, black and white, climbed the steep wooden stairs to the second floor Panther office. They browsed through Panther literature, rapped about the trial and met Mrs. Seale and other Panther leaders.

At that open house I spoke with Mrs. Seale about her life with Bobby and her part in the struggle to defend him. With poise and frankness, Mrs. Seale described the man who has become an inspiration to people throughout the world.

"Bobby's concerned about his people," she said. "As long as I've known him he's always been of service to his people. Even when we were first married, Bobby was very active in community programs. At that time he was teaching at a Richmond, California, community program which was directed toward people of color."

The Richmond program, conducted after school and on weekends, was designed to teach people "the true knowledge of themselves in this present day society," Mrs. Seale said. "It taught them about their true history and background which was not taught in the public schools."

Artie Seale, a music major with 15 years of training in voice and piano, met her husband at Merritt College in Oakland, Calif., where he was an instructor of black history. They were married in June 1965.

"When Bobby and Huey were at Merritt College they recognized the need for black history classes," she said. "They circulated a petition and got the classes set up."

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In the fall of 1966 Seale and Newton formed the Black Panther Party in Oakland, Calif. "Before the Panther Party was originated, "Mrs. Seale said, "Bobby and Huey went into the community knocking on doors and asking the poor and oppressed people what they needed and wanted. Basically the community's answers were the same. The ten-point platform and program of the Black Panther Party encompasses the basic needs and desires of the people. These are the same things which are supposed to be guaranteed to the people by the Constitution of the U.S.

"Wherever Bobby went, young people would gather around him. When he was at Merritt College, young people would call on him to discuss and help solve problems. Bobby is interested in everything. He's a mechanic, a draftsman, a carpenter, a tool and die maker and knows other trades as well. He also does a great deal of reading, with the welfare of his people in mind. Things like the **Autobiography of Malcolm X.** and Frantz Fanon and Kim Il Sung and Marx and Lenin. I couldn't begin to name all the history books he's read.

"Bobby has written a book, which will be out soon. It's entitled **'Seize the Time'** and it's the history of the Black Panther Party and Huey P. Newton.

"The pigs here in Connecticut are trying to prevent Bobby from reading the things he really wants. They won't allow him to see the Panther paper. I'm not able to bring him anything. They don't tell me what he can have. They just tell me what he can't have. They don't want him to have anything."

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"We are not racists. We are Marxist-Leninists. We want a class change in this country. We know that you don't have to be white to be a pig. The pigs come in all colors. What we do say is that white people should organize in their communities. Because if white people don't get themselves together to stop this rampant oppression, there is going to be a race war in this country."

I asked her about the role of women in the Black Panther Party. She said, "We're the other half, the equal half. We know that if any women are going to be electrocuted, the Panther women are going to be first. But we know that is not going to happen because the people are not going to allow it. The pigs don't treat us like women so we had to change our way of looking at the role of women. At first, when Bobby and Huey were just starting the organization, the women hung back. They felt they belonged at home in their kitchens because that had always been their role. But we began to find out that the pigs didn't care that we were women. They are ready to electrocute Ericka (Huggins, one of the New Haven defendants) and the others. So we had to change our way of looking at ourselves."

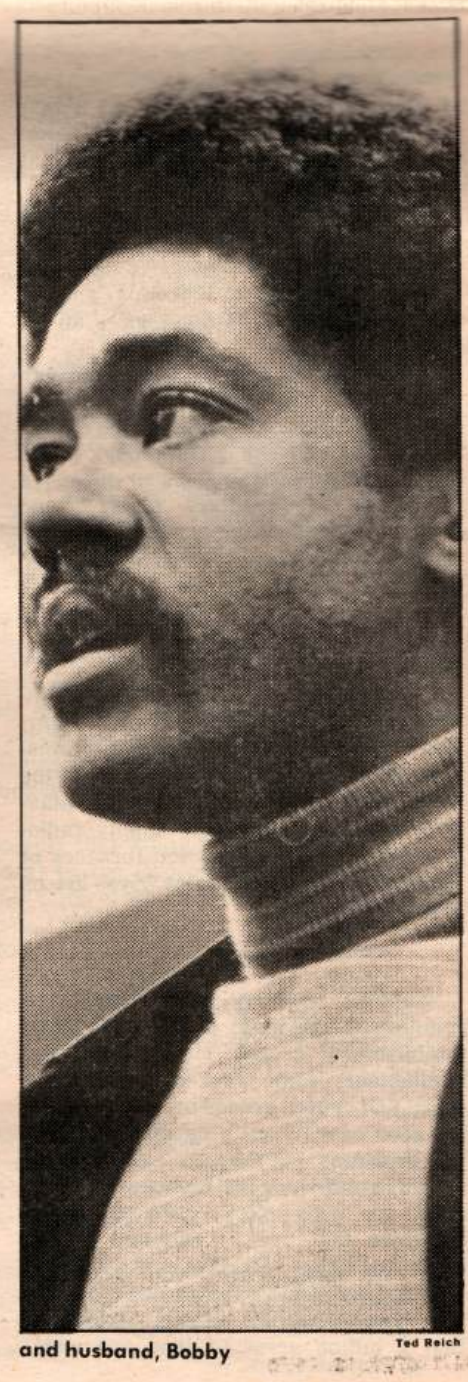
She described her first visit with her husband after he was moved to Connecticut. "The day before Bobby got here he called me from Kansas City to say that he was on his way to New Haven. He told me to come. When I got here I saw in a local paper which prison they were putting him in. I called the prison and asked if he was there. The guy who answered was really shook up and asked who I was. I told him I was Bobby's wife and that I wanted to see my husband. So I went to Montville, State Correction Center (a prison 50 miles from New Haven) and they let me have 15 minutes with him. I found out later that they should have let me stay 30 minutes. There is no privacy when you visit. There is a whole row of prisoners and visitors. But that's not the problem, it's the guards hanging over you."

As Malik sat on his mother's lap drawing pictures, Mrs. Seale talked about the prison's refusal to allow Seale to see his son. "In Connecticut they say a child has to be 16," she said. "The last time Malik saw his father was in the Chicago courtroom. He saw his father beaten and chained and gagged. The fact that he saw his father beaten is something that he is never going to forget. He practically got hysterical when he saw Bobby like that."

Mrs. Seale's work for the New Haven defense of the Panthers began almost immediately after her arrival. "I went from door to door selling the Black Panther newspaper and introducing myself to the people of the community," she said. "They were very friendly. They seemed fascinated by the fact that they were talking to the wife of Bobby Seale. They really seemed able to relate to Bobby."

The New Haven police are also impressed by Mrs. Seale's presence in this town. "As I went from house to house," she said, "a pig car followed me. It was about six o'clock at night and the pig was in uniform and he would follow along slowly after me. Every once in a while he would speed up and go around the block. But he'd come right back again."

"The FBI has probably been following me since I got married," she said. "But I wasn't at all afraid about that pig following me. I know that the people of the community would not allow anything to happen to me. I know the people will protect me. We know also that the people are not going to allow anything to happen to Bobby and the Connecticut Panthers."



and husband, Bobby

Ted Reich

OPINION

Pollution -- smoke and smokescreen

By R. BLOOM

UE News

Pollution is everybody's problem. The Sunday newspapers across the country have new, special sections to arouse us to the dangers of pollution, assuming that once we learn how our land, air, and water are being contaminated, we will take measures to stop it.

But can we? What is the meaning of the sudden concern with environmental pollution? The problem is political and economic, and only secondarily concerned with our contaminated environment.

The smokescreen called "fighting pollution" befogs our awareness that **everything** is wrong with the system of private enterprise. This awareness grows every day.

We, as workers, do not pollute the air, the water, the land. It is the industrial bosses, the huge corporations which profit from **not** curbing their wastes, from not eliminating pollutants from the air of our cities. Giant farm corporations want profits from this year's crops and do not worry that insecticides get into the food chain, killing fish and birds, and eventually reach our dinner tables in the fruits and vegetables.

As early as 1953 anti-smog devices to control exhaust fumes could have been built into every car produced. "Too expensive" was the excuse — but what is meant is reduction of **profit** from each car.

Dangerous radiation from atomic power plants near congested urban areas is a recent worry that citizens' groups can do little about, but protest. Wastes from these plants, as well as heating nearby waters, could cause irreparable damage to plant, animal, and human life, no matter if the atom is split for "peaceful" purposes or for the manufacture of missiles. The resulting contamination of the environment will last for countless generations. In December 1969 the Atomic Energy Commission released a map showing the locations of nuclear power plants in the U.S.: 16 operable, 48 being built, and 34 planned.

Private enterprise, under government auspices with scientific "cool," hides the issue of danger to our genes, of deformed children, deaths from leukemia, and yet un-known defects and illnesses — all for profits!

Poison gases, defoliants and insecticides are **still** being manufactured, despite widespread knowledge of the danger involved in their use. Even though President Nixon recently announced the end of production of "military toxins," and some biological-chemical warfare agents, the production of anti-personnel weapons, mace and the like, continues as before. Disposal of wastes associated with the manufacture of these poisons causes pollution.

Natural gas companies of the southwest look for profits from "Project Plowshare" of the Atomic Energy Commission (AEC), which may contaminate the whole Rocky Mountain area with radiation, and may eventually supply radioactive gas to the stoves and furnaces of the residents of these states. Eyes are on profits, not safety.

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Workers, be wary when Nixon says pollution is **the** issue of the day! Anti-establishment groups, student activists, intellectuals, some workers and do-good social and church groups may be conducting good educational programs on pollution problems, but they are also being diverted to anti-smog ineffectiveness. Their minds are being polluted with Malthusian doctrines that are as outdated as the horse and buggy. Malthus said 100 years ago that we would outgrow our food supply. United Nations figures (1954) say that 2 billion acres of land are under cultivation but that there are 16 billion acres available for cultivation. This could supply food for 8 billion more people, even with the methods of cultivation used in 1954. Technology has advanced since then.

It is only under capitalism that people are a surplus commodity. In socialist countries, people are the most precious resource around which all planning, producing, and improving life conditions revolve. There is no unemployment in socialist countries, and no over-production, and no profit for a few at the expense of the many.

Over-population only exists when there are millions of unemployed to be fed, housed, and clothed — at government expense, with no profit to private enterprise.

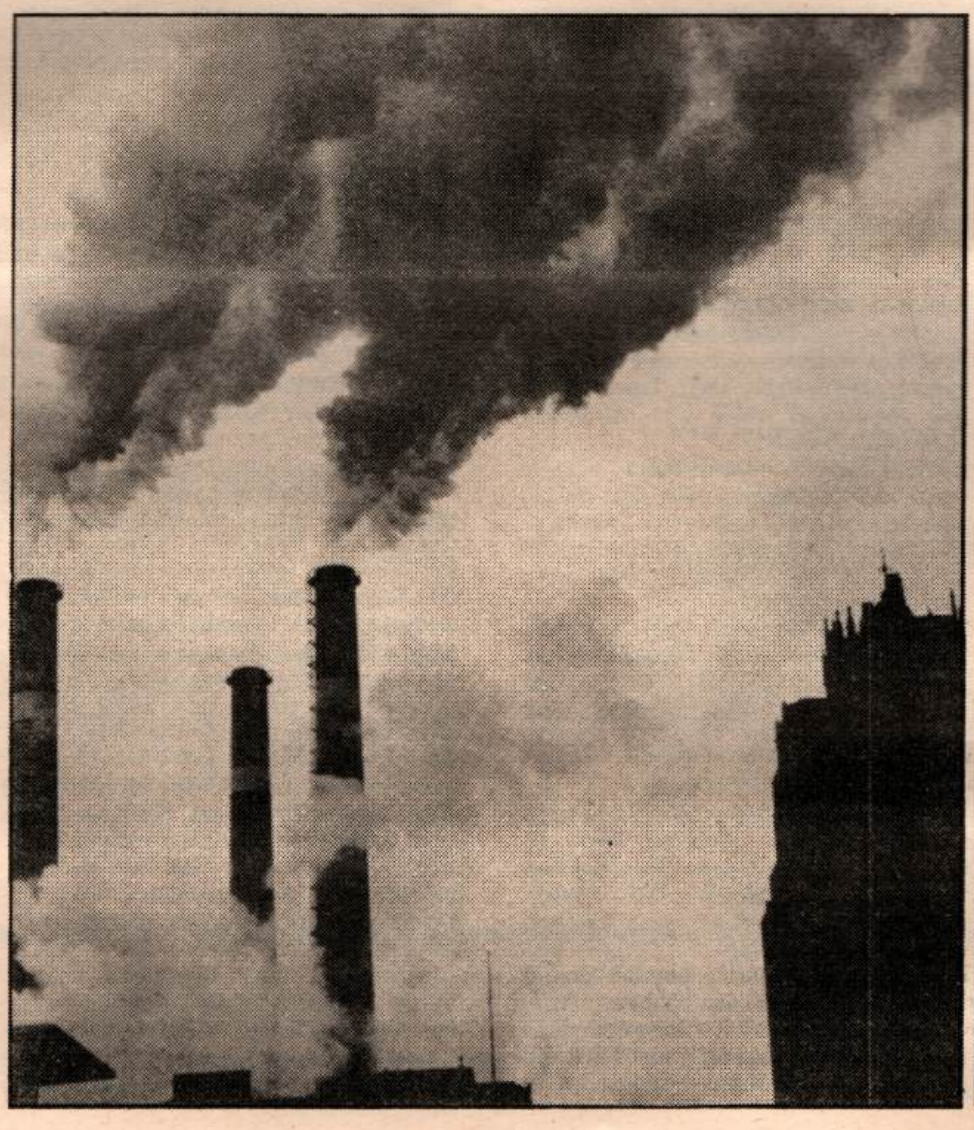
Waste, under capitalism, is another form of pollution, also profitable. A worker 40 years old is through, younger workers replace older ones, for less wages, more work. Machinery also requires fewer and fewer workers. Medical science lengthens life to 75 years or more — with the result that 35 years are wasted. By 1985 there will be 65 million Americans aged 65 or over. Money that should go to make life for older workers more comfortable and their leisure more useful, is cut back to provide funds for the military. Cancer, arthritis, heart disease are still disabling diseases abandoned for war-budgets.

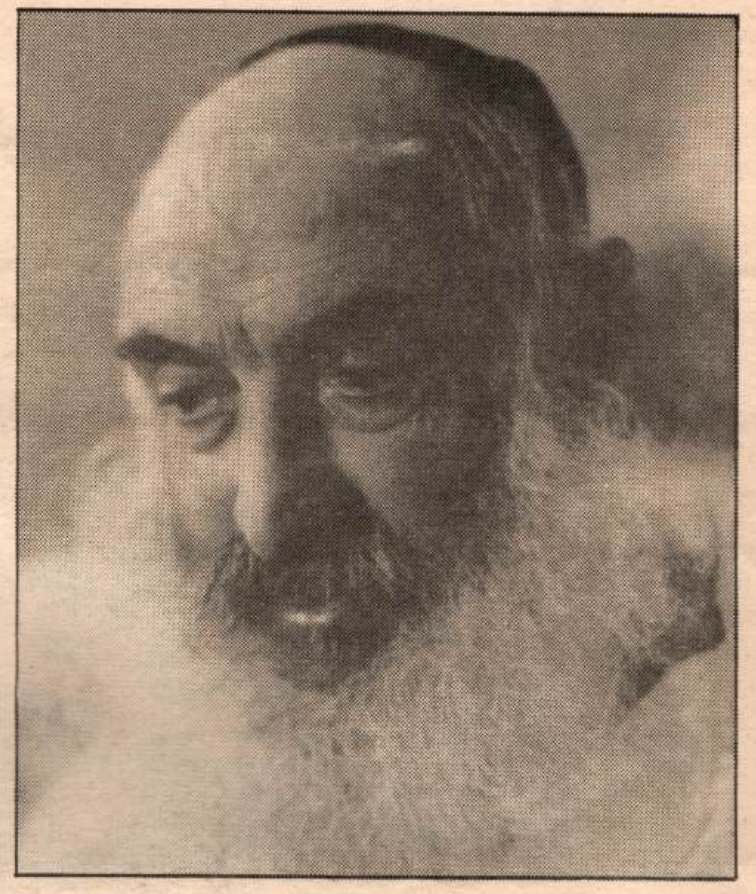
Among those wasteful, but profitable, military expenditures are billions for the F-111 planes that cannot fly. Billions more for the ABM defense system, already obsolete, but still being pushed by profit-mad industrialists and their lobbyists in Congress. Plutonium and napalm bombs are produced continuously and in greater quantity, for the profit of Dow Chemical Company and its stockholders.

The "fight against pollution" must become the fight against profits and the profit system which brings nothing but misery to the workers.

Pollution of every aspect of life is what we have — not by choice or by consent — but by the very conditions of capitalism in its last stages of decay.

Nixon's drive against pollution is a smokescreen of words obscuring the real reasons for pollution and diverting the energies of those who could **do** something about it.





Left, a baker preparing the dough for the matzos and, right, I.L. Levin, Chief Rabbi of Moscow.

Half-baked charges about matzos

Aron Vergelis is the editor of the Yiddish language magazine Soviet Homeland. This article first appeared in the German Democratic Republic periodical Die Weltbuehne.

By ARON VERGELIS

Unfortunately life is not all straight and narrow. Here and there one finds obstructions. There have been difficulties in the lives of the Soviet people, and here we are concerned with one of these peoples, the Soviet Jews. But all these peoples, including the Jews, have lived through tragic times and have overcome them valorously.

There have been deviations from our Soviet line, from Leninist norms. But notice I say there have been. This is no longer the case, and one should finally cease sowing the seeds of enmity and ill-will.

The enemies of the Soviet Jews — promoters of the cold war — do not ask about our economic achievements. They raise a great outcry about matzos, yeshivas (Jewish religious schools), prayer books, and the number of synagogues. On the other hand, we regard it as decisive that the Jews in the USSR have an existence that is materially secure. The Jews have become a productive, a creative people.

I simply cannot comprehend a situation in which American senators constitute themselves as self-appointed spokesmen for us, and, without any knowledge, speak of the "poor Soviet Jews." It is not we who are poor, but they: poor in information, poverty-stricken in their assessment. We ourselves take stock of our joys and sorrows. We don't claim that everything is perfect with us and that there are no longer any problems. But we just can't understand, for example, why a gentleman named Moshe Decter (an ingloriously renowned "expert in Jewish affairs") sets up conferences on the condition of the Soviet Jews in New York and other cities. Why is he constantly running around, pulling fabricated documents from this thick briefcase about how we live, as though he were protecting us from insults. I don't know who this Decter is; I did not commission him to protect my interests.

Whoever wants to judge the life of the Jews in the Soviet Union should, above all, not forget that the October Revolution of 1917 was carried out in this land where these Jews live. When I spoke in the USA with a champion of the traditional nationalistic ways of education and life, I told him: We don't force our views on you, but don't you mix into our business. We live in a country where more than a half century ago the old order was abolished. We have a different way of life. It corresponds to our convictions. We believe that the Jewish people must go forward on the road of the twentieth century.

They maintain that Jews will be able to preserve their identity only if they attend synagogue regularly, remain captive to tradition, and return to the usages of past centuries. They say that if we follow new paths, we are no longer Jews. We, on the contrary, are convinced that we are Jews only when we live in a new way and are part of the new times. Those Jews who so vociferously demand that we remain true to old customs have themselves adopted contemporary customs and work hard to appear modern.

In Moscow I was once visited in our editorial offices by Rabbi David Hollander of New York. In my mind I had expected to see the kind of rabbi I knew in my childhood, with a long beard and sideburns. But who comes into the room? A smooth-shaven gentleman with short-cropped hair, who greets me and says, "Hello, Mister Vergelis, may I put on my prayer cap (yarmolka)?" "Please," I answered, "throw yourself into your uniform and let us talk." Actually there was no difference between us. He had also brought his wife along. I remember how a rabbi's wife used to be dressed. But she came in fashionable shoes, skirt well above her knees and haute coiffure. She was a lovely "rabbitzin," and I envied the Rabbi. For this contemporary American Rabbi Hollander so much of his life had changed; he might then permit us Soviet Jews also to live the kind of existence we choose.

The rabbi and I are now good friends. It is possible for a Soviet Communist to be a good friend of an American rabbi. But we are different people and remain so. We are a new Jewish people.

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The Moscow correspondent of the New York Times, Mr. Theodore Shabad, the son of an old liberal Jew, also once visited my office. Quite excited, he said, "Passover will soon be here. How goes it with the baking of matzos?"

I looked up from my manuscript and tried to put myself in Shabad's place. "Passover... when is Passover?"

"What is the meaning of this? The editor of a Jewish magazine, and he doesn't think of matzos?"

"Forgive me," I said, "I was so absorbed in a report of a trial against a fascist murderer of a Jew in World War II, that I find it difficult to make the transition to discuss Passover. I am sure our rabbi will take care of the orderly procedures of the holiday. Just now I have other concerns. This trial, and the fact that West Germany is at this time considering a law of amnesty for all Nazi criminals — this I feel is much more important than the matters you are talking about. However, let us talk about it. I might be of use to you on it."

Shabad later wrote in the New York Times about our discussion. He noted, somewhat ironically, that I live in quite another world, and am concerned with quite other matters. He was right.

What was actually happening in the matter of matzos?

With us in the Soviet Union (as in France and in Uruguay) the state and religion are separate. Therefore it was quite natural that the trade union of workers in the large state bakeries pointed out that it would be improper to keep spending money for matzos. This view is based upon the following reasoning: The dilapidated bakery, which prepares the bagatelle of 100 tons of matzos for Passover, is closed the rest of the year. But full rent must be paid, inventory taken, watchmen paid — and all this at a cost to the state. Separation of church and state — but the state pays for the matzos bakery. We don't understand, the union says, why an exception should be made for matzos.

Although the union arguments are basically correct, I don't consider them sufficient. But the views of trade unions are given great weight in our country. It is opposed to the expense. The inefficient bakery is closed.

I was not in agreement with this action, because this should not be done until all who think of buying this unleavened bread can do so. Of course, to assure this is the problem of the Jewish community, not the union. But the harm done as a result is that it enables the cold warriors to exploit the issue of baking matzos in Jewish communities in our cities.

We looked into this and then matters became quite simple. We said, matzos? That is something excellent! My Russian comrades say, matzos! Very good with tea. And now, in the land of sputniks and manned spaceships, in the country of the Bolsheviks, there are enough such biscuits. Matzos for believers and for non-believers. For some, for Passover; for others, for their tea...But on this issue we get no reports from those who howl against the USSR. For them the matter is not one of unleavened bread, but of fishing in troubled waters.

Now a word about prayer books. It is a bit of Soviet dialectics that, on the one hand, our magazine, **Soviet Homeland,** an organ of Soviet literature, conducts an ideological campaign against religion. And on the other hand, the print shop that works on our magazine prints prayer books for the believers. Our editorial board doesn't see the slightest danger in this situation to our Soviet culture.

We do not abandon our atheistic viewpoint. But we are loyal to those who are believers. How do we regard a religious Jew? As a citizen of the Soviet Union, a Soviet man. Perhaps he gave some blood in the fight for Soviet power. His son may be a pilot and have been a hero in the war against Nazism. And his daughter a partisan, perhaps murdered by the enemies. This religious person has lived in our midst for over 50 years. And he still believes in God. But that does not make him a second-class Soviet citizen. We consider it necessary to satisfy his religious needs.

I am often asked about Jewish culture in the Soviet Union by visitors to Moscow, or when I am abroad. I'll try to answer this briefly. In our country we try to satisfy the need for Jewish literature, especially for specific aspects of Jewish culture. At the same time we must assure that the Jewish people are not isolated from other people, that they do not live in a cultural ghetto. To march shoulder to shoulder with all the Soviet people and with all progressive forces of the whole world, toward a better future, that we see as the central issue in the lives of the Jews in our country.

Translated by Al Brooks

Margaret Burroughs, outstanding writer and artist, interviewed Claude Lightfoot, member of the National Committee, CPUSA, and chairman of its Black Liberation Commission, on the occasion of his 60th birthday and 40 years in the people's movement.

40 years for the people

Claude Lightfoot — World Magazine

Q: Claude, what evoked your interest in the people's movement and how did you become a Communist?

A: Well, I must tell it like it was. In the pursuit of my own personal interests I sought the answers to these questions and naturally came up against racial barriers, the problems that generally confront black people. I had, at that time, pretty high ambitions. I wanted to be a shoe manufacturer. I didn't know anything about the limitations I would confront. I came up against the fact, the hard-core fact, that in the stage of monopoly capitalism—the black man didn't have a chance. I didn't need Lenin's **Imperialism** to teach me that there was a built-in verdict within the economic system against black capitalism being a solution. What I did need, however, was Lenin's teaching on what the real solution — socialism — was to black liberation. I found out that to be competitive as a shoe manufacturer, you had to own the processing plants where the leather was made. Or control the ranges of cattle, the source of leather; and then you had to own the bank to loan you money to finance your projects. So when I became aware of all these limitations, I concluded that this was a dead-end street. Black business as a palliative, yes, but as a solution, no.

Q: How did you arrive from this point to enter politics and eventually join the Communist Party?

A: I came back from college in the summer of 1930 at the outbreak of the economic crisis. In Washington Park in Chicago one day I saw thousands of unemployed people discussing their problems. Being young and aggressive, and having the ability to talk, I soon emerged as one of the chief spokesmen around the park. I participated in two developments which history will record as the first time in American history these things happened. I participated in the first successful boycott of the Woolworth stores on the South Side. It was conducted by the Chicago Whip, a militant black newspaper of that time, under the slogan, "Don't spend your money where you cannot work." I don't think there was any precedent for that. It was the forerunner of today's Breadbasket Operation which has led to a number of successful boycott movements.

The second time was a situation where the street car company decided to extend the line from South Parkway on 51 Street and South Parkway to Cottage Grove. They brought in four or five hundred foreign born workers. Not a single black worker was in the crew. We went out into the streets and took the tools away from the white workers and decreed that there would be no more work done on that project until some black workers were employed. This was the first time that such a thing had ever happened. It was in 1930. This too was the historic backdrop of the recent actions of the black community in the building trades where some jobs were halted.

The Democartic Party sought to exploit the situation. At this point, I had become one of the main leaders of the movement. We brought thousands of these people into the Democratic Party. That's how I entered politics.

Q: How did you move from the Democratic Party to the Communist Party?

A: That wasn't too difficult. I became disillusioned with the Democrats for breaking their promises to the people with whom I was identified and worked with. I started listening seriously to the Communists. I hadn't tuned in on the Communists theoretically but I joined a demonstration and went with the workers to put an evicted family back into their home. I got arrested and a new world opened up.

Q: What was the situation then? I've heard of the militant role that you and others played. What was happening?

A: It is very difficult to get a picture now of what the situation really was. When people lost their jobs they got no help, no unemployment compensation, so thousands of people were without means of paying rent and were evicted and put on the streets. They came to Washington Park. A dozen or so Communists decided to do something about it. They started putting families back into their homes. Eventually we got to the point where we had thousands of people roaming the streets. As a family was put out, we'd put them back.

Then we organized people into block committees and unemployed councils. We not only put the furniture back, we also turned on gas and electricity. We began to storm the relief stations which were unable to handle the situation. As a consequence of these actions three of our comrades were killed, on August 3, 1931, shot down by the police, as we were moving a family back in. John O'Neal, Abe Gray and Frank Armstrong. We had a demonstration around the funeral and it was estimated that some 110,000 people participated from all over the city of Chicago, black and white, including some 30-40,000 whites. This was the first time anything like this had ever happened. The next day, on August 5, Mayor Anton Cermak ordered the end of evictions. A major victory had been won.

Q: What did you do from that period to World War II?

A: Having joined the Communist Party between 1931 and 1933, I was the executive secretary of the League of Struggle for Negro Rights, and one of the officials of the International Labor Defense. I helped organize the defense in this area in the Scottsboro and Angelo Herndon cases.

After that I went into the Young Communist League. In 1935, I was sent as a delegate to the World Congress of the Communist International from the American Communist Party. There were about twenty of us. Only two or three are still alive.

In the early thirties, I attended a Party Training School. Prior to that, my attachment to the struggle had been purely emotional. The theoretical background I gained sustained me during those periods when things didn't look too good.

Q: Do you think that some of the groups could benefit today from similar serious training?

A: Yes. This is one of the main needs of the movement at this time — the black liberation movement, youth, peace, labor, etc. Presently, I am occupied with trying to bring such a school into existence.

Q: Perhaps you will say a word about your late wife, Geraldine Gray Lightfoot.

A: The thing I am proudest of is the role that Geraldine played in the people's movements. I got a great deal of inspiration from her work. She came into the party after we were married and took her place in the movement in such a way, that pretty soon people knew me through her. Geraldine became well-known and loved for her civic activity among the people of the West Side.

Q: Why were you indicted under the Smith Act?

A: When the United States embarked on the Korean war in 1950, something surfaced which brought cold chills to the power structure. Although the United States possessed the atom bomb and had the most awesome array of military power, it was unable to whip a small nation of fifteen or twenty million people. It was in this struggle that the world lost its fear of U.S. imperialism. People of color the world over gained a sense of confidence, since the Korean war proved that the U.S. could no longer push people around. Unprecedented opposition began to surface on the home front. In order to crush this development, all kinds of repressive legislation was enacted.

I was convicted on a section of the Smith act which had never before been used, the membership clause. This was the first time in American history that anyone was ever convicted for being a member of an organization. A jury was asked to go into the content of my mind. Not from the spoken word or the written word but what was hidden in the back of my mind.

Q: What in your estimation are some of the qualities that a true revolutionary should possess?

A: As I look back through the years and think of the people I've known who made great contributions, three qualities stand out above all others. First and foremost is the necessity to love the people. It has been said that the measurement of love is the capacity to give. A revolutionary must have the capacity to give everything required in the struggle for freedom including, if necessary, his own life. The second quality is confidence in the people. Without confidence in the ability to win over the people to revolutionary purposes, one resorts to all kinds of gimmicks which in the long run become self-defeating. Capitalism cannot be destroyed by gimmickry, but only by the people.

Thirdly, a revolutionary leader must possess the ability to learn from the people while trying to teach them. The history of the workingclass movement is rich with examples of students who have left college campuses to go among the people and to organize them against their oppressors. But if they do not understand or make any effort to understand the people, many of their efforts result in disaster. Anarchistic, terroristic methods, in the long run, only put additional weapons into the hands of the oppressors to confuse and divide the people. Lenin, when his brother Alexander was executed for having attempted to assassinate the Czar, declared that there must be a more effective way of getting to the Czar than through the actions of a handful of people. He declared that the big mistake made by his brother and the Narodnikis was that they went to teach the people but not to learn from them.

These are the three main qualities: to love the people, to have confidence in the people and to be able to teach the people while at the same time learning from them.

Q: Claude, if you had to do it all over again, would you do it the same way?

A: I would try to improve on it. I would take the same direction. I would say on the occasion of my 60th birthday that my party and the people have made it possible for me to spend forty years beholden to no man so that I could stay out there and call it as I saw it. Jails I have no fear of. They can't take my living away because the people take care of me. So if I had it to do all over again, that would be the case. I've made some mistakes along the way, but, in the overall sense, it was all very positive.

't's Marx or Malthus

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Great potential

We believe Carl Bloice's earlr p.eces on ecology were con-e.ved devo d of any real class os.t.on.

As Marx.sts, and most es-ec.ally at this juncture in . S. history, it is imperative at we f.nd the key issue which ll stop fasc.sm. And the en-ronmental question is not it.

However, it is also a mass sue, one in wh.ch previously lent people are forming al-ances and act.on groups, and e with great potential for ex-osing the total corruption of apitalism.

The question must be posed om a class viewpoint and put terms of "exploitation of the nvironment for profit." Then e have a radical proposition nd a means by which we can eepen the consciousness of the eople in the movement.

The environmental struggle is, erhaps, the most easily co-oted by the ruling class. They ave already met with some iccess (witness the outcry gainst litter bugs, beer cans, nd babies). There is now cious legislation afoot, aimed the black, brown and white or, and the working class in eneral, penalizing people for fspring through taxes. This oposed gouging is wrapped in e green flag of ecology.

This co-optation is possible ly to the degree that idelogi-l weakness exists within the ovement, and it cannot be rad-alized in the absence of rad-als.

A mass movement exists. We ve no right to stay cl.

—The Mike Quin Club, CPSUA, So. Calif. District

real problem

Like Carl Bloice, I am fed with politicians who talk cology" to cover up racism d their betrayal of human eds.

But hydrocarbons in the air e real material particles, sew-e and industrial effluent in vers and offshore waters is al, injurious chemicals in our od are real. The damage done the digestive and nervous sys-ms, the physical deterioration, e emphysema cough, is not olated.

We usually define Marxist-eninist theory in terms of his-rical materialism and its in-rpretation of human history d social change.

But the basic method of Marx-ism-Leninism is dialctical ma-terialism, which deals with the un'verse as well as with society.

Dialectical materialism is able to explore the material world with which we operate, on wh.ch society is based.

If we downgrade the import-ance of our operations with the physical world and its effects (pollution, for example) we ne-glect dialectics and fail to take advantage of our position as materialists.

Cr'minal misuse of the envir-onment is characteristic of the chaos of capitalism. To bypass the problem of pollution is to let capitalism get away with it.

For the working class it pre-sents an opportunity to under-stand the material environment, not in terms of immediate per-sonal experience alone, but in a concrete, objective way, to be-come practicing materialists on a large scale.

The organizational problems of racial discrimination and un-employment cannot be separat-ed from working with the en-vironment and fighting pollu-tion if we are to reach a new level of action and theory.

As Carl Bloice says, hypocrit-ical political talk about ecology should be exposed. And in fact that is a required first step in getting down to work on the peope's environmental needs.

—I. U., Seattle

Institutional concern

These quotes from "Science," organ of the Natl. Assn. for Advancement of Science, were interesting, so I'm passing them on:

"Growing student concern about pollution and other forms of environmental degradation shows signs of becoming insti-tutional . . ."

Then follows a recounting of events. "If one may judge from the prospectus for the Michi-gan events, the teach-in move-ment will have a distinctly ac-tivist ring. And past experience with students activist move-ments has made it clear that they are dynamic and unpredict-able and tend to acquire a will of their own."

Let us not abdicate.

—Eleanor Wilson, RICHMOND

Oh...what a ovely slogan

"That so very much of this preposterous, as we shall see, ould come as no real surprise those of us who follow the ds of crisis in America.

"There are no plain and sim-e problems anymore. From verty to race to crime to etnam all we face are crises hich threaten to bring down e world upon our heads.

"And now it is ecology/en-ronment — which is a per-ctly good problem to be sure but with its advent comes, agged in by the heels of our d friend, the super-crisis of pulation explosion, which is t nearly as real or immediate a problem in America, and ends up serving unfortunately as a political smokescreen that can obscure a host of legitimate con-cerns.

". . . Finally, look at it all from Mr. Nixon's point of view. It is beautiful. You (Mr. Nixon) take office and the major do-mestic problems, generally ack-nowledged, are the race situa-tion and the (so-called) crisis of the cities.

They are tough problems. They are controversial prob-lems. They are problems that have given way only gradually, painstakingly expensively, over the years.

(Continued on page 10)

Editorial

Agnew and Osario equal law & order

Have you noticed how the press has been calling the recently 'elect-ed" president of Guatemala, Colonel Carlos Manuel Arana Osorio, the "law and order" candidate.

What a flash of insight. To link Osorio and all he stands for to the likes of Spiro Agnew and Ronald Reagan.

It is proof, if proof were needed, that what is violence to the oppres-sor is justice to the oppressed, and what is order to the oppressors, and those who share their outlook, is violence and death for the people.

Take the response of the press to the killing of the West German Ambassador to Guatemala, Count Von Spreti. With what a fine even hand the editorial writers condemn both the Guatemalan government, for not taking measures to "alleviate social injustice," and the guerill-las, for being "heartless killers." But about the role of the United States government, not a word.

Look at the "order" the rulers in Guatemala defend. In the last two years 8,000 workers, peasants, students, revolutionaries, trade union-ists and democrats have been murdered by Rightist terrorist groups tied directly to the army and defended by the army's most outspoken advocate of murderous repression, Colonel Arana Osorio.

Behind them, as every child in Latin America knows, stands the money of the United States government, the advice of the Central In-telligence Agency and the Green Berets, and the power of the United Fruit Company, in whose interests the Guatemalan people are crucified.

The world recently learned in horrifying detail the methods the Brazilian dictatorship uses to "keep order."

Political prisoners, freed through the efforts of guerrilla kidnappers, shocked the world with their accounts of the tortures of nuns and pregnant women.

And what is the order the generals torture to preserve, In the vast northeast of Brazil alone: 536,000 children die a year, 1,426 a day, 61 children die each hour of starvation and disease.

The misery of the masses of Latin America grows worse each year. And to keep the lid on what Cuban Communist leader Carlos Rafael Rodriguez calls "the boiling sea" (see page 5), a pall of Rightist dicta-tors dedicated to the protection of the vast U.S. investment suffocates most of the countries of the continent.

U.S. imperialist rule over Latin America is a continental My Lai massacre.

This is the Week of Solidarity with the Peoples of Latin America. We have the same stake in the liberation of Latin America, and the same responsibility, as we do in the defeat of U.S. aggression in Vietnam.

The 900 U.S. young people helping in the Cuban sugar harvest are setting the example of concrete aid, but there is much more to do.

We must fight in the trade union movement to end the activities of the AFL-CIO in Latin America, where Jay Lovestone's labor agents work closely with the CIA against the anti-imperialist unions.

We must work on the campuses to expose and destroy the programs of technical aid to dictatorships, like the program the Economics De-partment at the University of California at Berkeley runs to advise the Brazilian generals.

And we must leaflet, and speak and demonstrate in behalf of the revolutionaries fighting against our common enemy in Latin America.

To them we say, "Right on, brothers and sisters."

From the staff

There's more to violence than a club

SAN FRANCISCO

A BLACK citizen, who will not have had a violent hand upon him all of his life, still suffers greater injury than a white citizen who may be the victim of violence on his body or property.

Tons of documentation testify that discrimination against the black citizen results in more illness, earlier death and inadequate income. Not to men-tion spiritual and cultural deprivation.

The same is true about the boss-and-worker re-lationsh'p in this type of society. A boss can arbi-trarily lay off a worker or cut his pay, or inhibit his freedom of expression (if there's no strong un-ion). This can affect the worker's material and spiritual well-being more seriously than if the boss physically beat him, or used violence on his home or car, etc.

Passers-by in San Rafael will look at the scab Independent-Journal building and see paint-splat-tered walls and broken windows — and say "that's violence" (even though the striking Typographical Union disclaims these acts).

But will the same passer-by equate this with vio-lence of the I-J employers — who arbitrarily fire craftsmen with as much as 15 years of service, and for petty causes (like coffee drinking) . . . and deny workers recourse through a union of their own choos-ing?

AND THIS, a union that's been at the I-J for dec-ades; a union which essentially sought renewal of an old, standard contract, a union that was overly considerate of technological change; one of the oldest, most democratic unions in our nation's his-tory.

When I was a jobhunting kid in the depression '30s, and 16 million workers became unemployed (not because they suddenly lost their skills or were unfair to their bosses), I became aware of the mas-sive material injury to people by the subtle acts of the employer class.

Later on, I observed how the business class, through their interlocking hold on government, erect-ed a militarized economy — for their maximum profits, and to "stabilize" their "system". Violence can be good business ("Invest Your Son in Viet-nam," as the saying goes).

OR THE WAY, monopolies rig prices, or buy off Congress and the courts and police.

All of which inflicts violence upon us.

I had long realized: man, this brutal system has got to go. And I've been trying to get rid of it ever since. (It makes life more meaningful than copping out, or digging one's head in the sand while grasping a few "material gains" to the bosom).

The larger truth is that the many in our society who profess an abstract pacifism, generate and con-tribute to violence by their taxes for war. As well, in their daily work, often in war-related industry, like a million Californians. Or, by their indifference to laws and customs which do violence to others than themselves.

All this is what I was trying to say to an Em-porium-bound consumer at the Typographical picket line the previous Friday (Emporium advertises in the scab I-J newspaper) — That there is more to violence than a broken window or a flattened tire.

—SAM GOLD

Population and the Capitalism bomb

The following is excerpted from a review of Paul R. Ehrlich's "The Population Bomb" (Ballantine Books, 1968, 95c), one of the current and controversial reference works on the growing issue of ecology.

The reviewer is an associate professor of history at San Jose State College. The review appeared in the March-April issue of "Socialist Revolution."

By DAVID EAKINS

It is simple to demonstrate a reactionary neo-Malthusianism and a scarcely veiled Yankee imperialism in Ehrlich's Population Bomb. Such a demonstration constitutes the proper beginning for understanding one important component of the fast-growing ecology movement.

Ehrlich starts his book like some mid-nineteenth century Glubb Pasha in an effort to give his readers a gut-sense of what overpopulation is like. "I have understood the population problem intellectually for a long time. I came to understand it emotionally one stinking hot night in Delhi a couple of years ago." Ehrlich, his wife and daughter were returning to their hotel in a decrepit taxi . . .

The streets were "alive with people." People eating, washing, selling, sleeping, begging, defecating, herding animals. "People, people, people, people. As we moved slowly through the mob, hand horn squawking, the dust, noise, heat and cooking fires gave the scene a hellish aspect. Would we ever get to our hotel?" "Old India hands," he concludes, "will laugh at our reaction. We were just some overprivileged tourists, unaccustomed to the sights and sounds of India."

Ehrlich seems unaware that most of what he describes are the cultural features of underdevelopment and not the problems caused by overpopulation. He has given a partial recognition to his position as the affluent outsider, but not to the connection between his affluence and Indian underdevelopment.

CENTRAL PROBLEM?

The central problem of the underdeveloped nations, Ehrlich insists, is not economic underdevelopment, but overpopulation. There are more people in these areas than there is food (anywhere) to keep them alive. The solution: Eliminate people. Control population growth. The United States has a humanitarian duty to use its "political power" to "push" the underdeveloped countries "into programs that combine agricultural development and population control."

Ehrlich's plan fits neatly into the existing contours of a U. S. imperialism that has traditionally limited underdeveloped economies to agriculture. This, despite his own evidence that it takes from 50 to 200 years for the population to double in the industrially developed nations and from 20 to 35 years in the underdeveloped.

It is unlikely that the long run solution to the population problem is the industrialization of every poor country. What is clear, however, is that those countries that have achieved a high level of econmic development have had the lowest rates of population growth. It is also clear that Ehrlich's plan has nothing to say about a longterm solution other than more of the same exploitation.

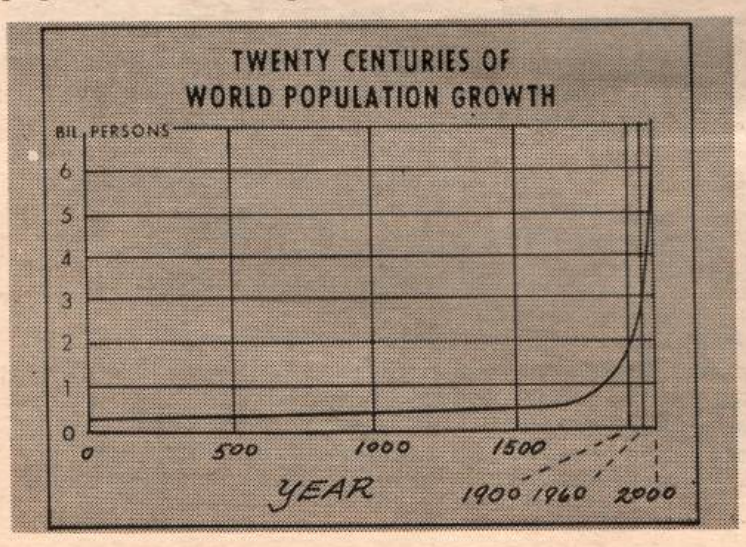
But we cannot wait, cry Ehrlich and some others. Within the next decade there will be major famines in the world, even with the most generous aid from the advantaged nations. This sense of crisis "realism" leads to Malthus-like conclusions. If populations continue to outspeed the expansion of food supplies, it may be necessary for the advantaged nations to "give up" on the worst offenders — India, for example — and share food only with those nations willing to take drastic population control measures to save themselves.

'REALISTIC' PROGRAM?

Out of the goodness of our advantaged hearts, our program abroad must be a heartlessly realistic one. What this means, of course, is that U. S. imperialism would be strengthened, (both) in terms of the growth of a long-existing economic domination and in terms of the growth and employment of power that would result from such a program.

Ehrlich, however, is more than an unwitting (or witting) imperialist. He would not, for example, limit population controls to foreigners. One of his basic rationalizations for applying population controls in the United States is that since we will "have to adopt some very tough foreign policy positions relative to population control, . . . we must do it from a psychologically strong position."

But Ehrlich's appeal to many concerned citizens stems from a program that goes beyond the requirements of such propaganda. His analysis appears to get at the core of the U.S. ecological disaster.



Ehrlich demonstrates that our environment is rapidly deteriorating. Not only are natural resources being destroyed, but our land and the sea and air of the planet are being poisoned by industrial wastes and pesticides and by many of the products consumed in our society. The U.S. has: "Too many cars, too many factories, too much detergent, too much pesticide, multiplying (aircraft) contrails, inadequate sewage treatment plants, too little water, too much carbon dioxide — all this can be traced easily to too many people."

POPULATION CONTROL

Ehrlich sees population control as subsuming — or replacing — all other measures for dealing with the environment. He has chosen it because he has become convinced that the traditional conservation battle is being lost. Why? The "development" of land has meant the annihilation of the natural environment. And as Ehrlich puts it, "nothing 'underdeveloped' can long stand in the face of the population explosion."

If the cause of wilderness is so easily lost, his choice of ecology as an issue is that much more vulnerable to defeat. He hasn't solved the problem, he has avoided confronting the real one. "Population," as Ehrlich uses it, has been turned into a meaningless abstraction. And so has his concept of development. That is, it is not his abstracted hordes of people that create suburban blight, or too many cars, or too many factories, or the consumption of harmful waste.

That blight is created by a capitalist class that cannot exist without constantly expanding profits from commodity production. Nor is it simply "development" that is to blame, but rather the kind of development that exists only for the taking of profit rather than for a socially determined need.

The corruption and destruction of the wilderness is no more the fault of too many people than is the corruption and destruction of the whole environment. To be sure, more people destroy more. But it is the capitalist identity of waste and destruction with industrial development that is to blame, not the people subjected to that development. Otherwise the victims are blamed for being victims.

U.S. "ROBBER BARONS"

Ehrlich is aware that the modern U. S. economy is somehow linked to the quality and pace of the destruction. His proscriptions sometimes almost recognize that waste is integral to the structure of the U.S. system. "We have assumed the role of the robber barons of all time. We have decided that we are the chosen people to steal all we can get of our planet's gradually stored and limited resources. To hell with future generations, and to hell with our fellow human beings today!"

This sounds like a moving recognition of economic imperialism. But it isn't. The evil stems from a personal moral decision, made, somehow, by all of us.

"ZERO POPULATION GROWTH," one of the population control movements, gives its views of the situation, as drawn by J. McKinley.

Ehrlich sees no system and attacks no system. At another point he acknowledges that: "Our entire economy is geared to growing population and monumental waste."

We have angered the poor abroad and the poor at home. Can we hold them down by force? Not likely, he says. "Besides, what has properly been called the 'effluent society' shows signs of strangling itself without the intervention of enraged 'have-nots.' Will our gross national product soon be reduced to no national product? The answer is that it surely will unless we take a hard look at our present economic system."

But Ehrlich's foreign policy proposals are guaranteed to enhance the "robber baron" domination he assaults, and his "hard look" at the U. S. capitalism that depends upon the consumption of "monumental waste" turns out to be a program to maintain it. Unchanged.

UP GNP, DOWN PEOPLE

Ehrlich proposes that "our capitalist system" need not "be fueled by an ever-growing population or ever-continuing depletion of resources." Some "very distinguished economists" he reports, have said there is no reason why the gross national product cannot continue to grow without population growth. Economic growth in the future can shift to a dependence upon "invention, innovation, technical progress . . ."

It is probably a kind of patronizing charity to suggest that biologist Ehrlich does not comprehend what his economic experts are telling him. Rather than an economy that depends upon more people consuming waste, he is proposing a growth rate that is geared to the same number of people consuming more waste. In other words, for an expanding economy that depends upon the consumption of waste by an expanding population we can substitute an expanding economy that depends upon the consumption of more waste per capita. With ingenuity, we can have the same destruction of the environment (and the same profit rate) without the population explosion.

A reform that perpetuates the production of waste — and destruction — cannot be what Ehrlich wants. And yet his other specific reforms are little more effective.

Ehrlich has settled for what might be accomodated within the existing capitalist mode of production. And he is conscious of this accomodation — at least on some level. His repeated expressions of pessimism about the chances of "Americans" (as an undifferentiated, abstracted blob) ever agreeing to do what is necessary to save the earth, reflect his acceptance of the limitations of bourgeois ideology.

He has reason to be pessimistic — not over those "Americans," but over the crashing inadequacy of his own proposals. The reforms he advances are not remotely close to his aim: the reversal of the destruction of the environment and the end of starvation.

SAVING CAPITALISM

It is conceivable, in fact, very likely, that given continued pressure for reforms, the limited demands that he has settled for — such as pollution controls and perhaps even demands for conservation of resources can be met within the existing system.

The more far-sighted corporate executives and politicians (not limited to corporate liberals by any means, as witness Nixon and Reagan) are respond-

(Continued on page 10)

'MAYO' grows in Lone Star state

- **New political party established**
- **Chicano college is accredited**
- **Cooperatives being organized**

By JUAN LOPEZ

SAN FRANCISCO — The interview ended abruptly as we crashed into the rear end of a car. Nobody was hurt, the car we were driving got a minor dent, and by then I had gathered everything I needed for the article.

From the driver's seat, Narciso Aleman had been narrating the story about the birth and growth of MAYO (Mexican American Youth Organization) conceived in San Antonio, Texas, in 1967.

By Sept., 1968, the radical Chicano wing of the Natl. Students Association had split to form another chapter of MAYO in the Rio Grande Valley in Texas.

Now the organization has chapters in major cities in that state, including Dallas, Houston, and Austin.

STRENGTH GROWING

The group is gaining strength fast in the southern counties of Texas where Chicanos constitute the majority of the population, as in Hidalgo, Dimmit, Zavala, and Uvalde counties. In Hidalgo county, for example, Chicanos make up 76% of the population.

Aleman, one of the original founders of MAYO, is now running for chairman of the organization.

He said the group is composed mostly of young Chicanos from high school and college. Some of the young people's parents and disillusioned ex-members of established organizations, such as LULAC and the G.I. Forum, have also joined.

For the coming period, Aleman said, the goal of the organization is to "try to develop a sense of awareness among the Chicano population" so as to be able to implement "El Plan de Aztlan," the program that grew out of the Chicano Youth Liberation Conference in Denver, Colorado March 25-29.

THE PLAN

The intention of the plan is to achieve political, economic, and social power for Chicanos.

The plan is particularly important in certain areas of Texas where "we're a majority," Aleman said.

For 1970, the organization expects to run a close to full slate of candidates for county offices under the banner of a new party, La Raza Unida. The party has been registered in three counties of Texas where Chicanos constitute a majority.

MAYO wants to use the electoral arena now, Aleman said, as a platform from which to educate Chicanos on the wrongs in government agencies, "from police enforcement to public assistance," and to motivate them "to begin to think that we have the right to demand the services due us as original settlers of this land and developers of this economy."

Support for the new political party has come from many Chicano organizations in Texas, including G. I. Forum; Amigos Unidos, a credit union; The United Farm Workers Organizing Committee; and Colonias del Valle, a co-op food store controlled by Chicanos.

However, the support of these groups has been limited. The "footwork" is being done by MAYO youth, Aleman said.

ELECTORAL ARENA

Most candidates running are professionals, mainly teachers who don't want to teach any longer because they are disillusioned with the school system.

MAYO's attitude towards the Democratic and Republican parties is that both represent the interests of the ruling class of this country.

Aleman said anytime a Chicano runs on the Democratic ticket, MAYO, as a Chicano organization, should not oppose him in public but neither should it support him.

However, he added, there is a situation today in Hidalgo county that calls for supporting a liberal Chicano Democrat, Ed Gomez, who is running for county judge against a reactionary anglo Republican.

Because La Raza Unida party is new and the Democrat has a good image in the Chicano community, MAYO cannot expect to win. So, rather than split the Chicano vote, the organization has decided to withdraw its candidate for the office and instead support the Chicano Democrat.

OTHER GROUPS

Commenting on PASSO (Political Association of Spanish-Speaking Organizations) from Texas, which has run candidates in the past, he said, "they want to wheel and deal."

They are, he added, a "very proper channel" oriented organization.

However, he said this is not meant to question their "integrity or commitment," just "their development."

Like most young radical organizations in the country today, MAYO has had its share of police repression — in this case from the Texas Rangers.

Last year the local paper, the Freedom News, subsidized by reactionary billionaire, H. L. Hunt, spread the false rumor that MAYO had a cache of arms stored in one of its centers.

Immediately, the Dept. of Public Safety of the State Police made an investigation of the matter, resulting, of course, in the inability to find anything resembling arms.

Recently, 35 members of MAYO in Del Rio were arrested and beaten by the Texas Rangers at a demonstration protesting the government's cancellation of a Vista program.

Aleman said most policemen are long-standing members of the community where they work, but police chiefs are "gringos" brought in from the outside.

On the part of anglos, the response to the organization has not been friendly. Aleman said, "It is not so much that the gringos hate us, it's that they fear us." Everytime MAYO is mentioned, they "snap shut their minds."

MOVEMENT SPREAD

During the first year, Aleman said the tactic of the organization was to engage the "gringos'" institutions in "confrontation after confrontation." Before the year's end, their movement had spread all over Texas.

MAYO fought for the rights of welfare recipients, against police brutality, and for a change in the school system.

"The thing was to confront, to confront . . . to create a sense of awareness by the coverage that would come of this," he said. "The people had been afraid for so long that we wanted to show them, the people, that we have rights."

All this work was "to be followed up by solidifying the sense of awareness," he concluded.

During the second year they began to organize adults. They formed a newspaper called "La Voz Chicana," (Chicano Voice) edited by 18-year-old Jesus Ramirez. In December they set up a school for drop-outs and those who have been "pushed out."

They began to develop their own textbooks with the help of older people.

A VICTORY

Two months ago, they won a victory — the accreditation of Jacinto Reviño, a four year Chicano college.

Aleman said they decided to take on the gringo's" school system because it "orients our minds to be Marine Corps."

As proof of how deeply the schools affect the minds of the youth, Aleman told the story of the leader of the first school walk-out in his region.

The student leader led 200 young people out of Elsa High School in Hidalgo County. The FBI, the national guard, and seven police forces had been mobilized for the occasion.

However, even after the demonstration and the repression, the leader was still ready to actually join the Marine Corps. It took much persuasion on the part of some MAYO members to convince him to change his mind.

MAYO also has a program intended to gain an economic base for the Chicano community through co-operative ownership of business.

COMMUNITY STORE

The tactic, to shut down a store through picketing, has been successful, Aleman said. A group of professional Chicanos bought the franchise of a store and the Mini-max corporation built and stocked the store.

If the shareholders in this co-op are not "responsive" to the community, Aleman said, the community will run them out of business, just as it did the capitalist enterprise before.

Now, MAYO is trying to break the Lone Star franchise in Hidalgo county, where Aleman lives, and open the sale of stocks to all Chicanos, regardless of their income.

Unlike a capitalist setup where the individuals with the largest number of shares control the enterprise, in a co-op everybody has one vote regardless of the number of shares he or she may own.

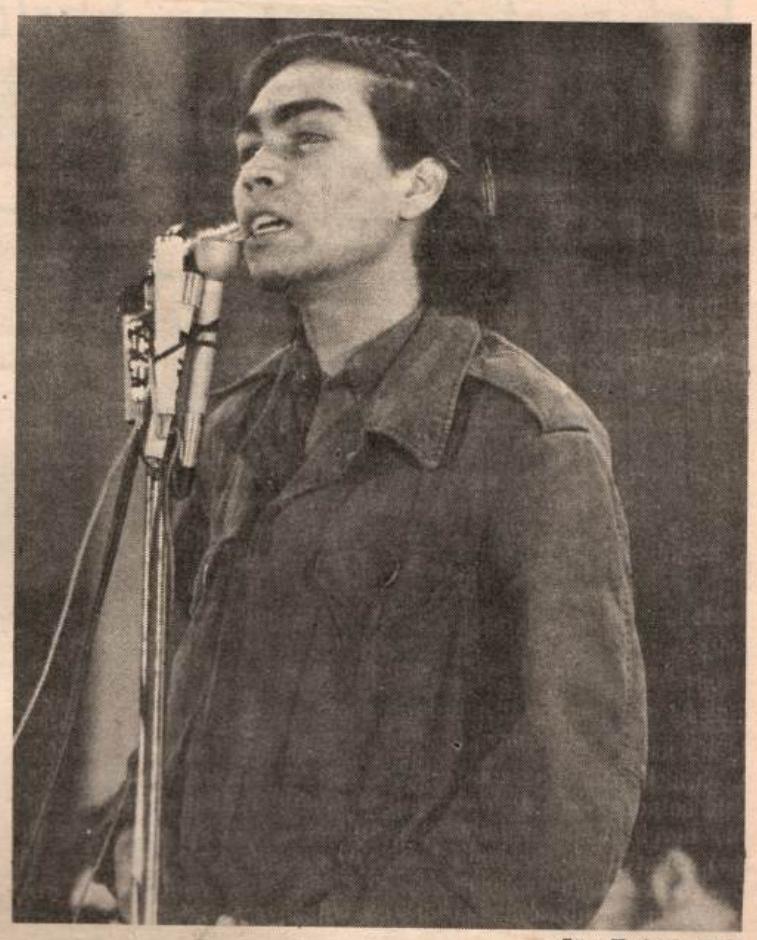
With all of thse projects, MAYO aims to "develop that sense of nationalism that we have," Aleman said.

COALITION QUESTION

Commenting on the question of coalitions, he said, "Not at this point," although the group welcomes the services of anglo lawyers and doctors.

In Hidalgo county, where he lives, the question of alliances with black people is unreal because there are few black peo-

(Continued on page 10)



—Sam Kushner photo

MAYO member reports at recent meeting of Chicano activists.

Chicano huelga in school board vote

Special to The People's World

CRYSTAL CITY, Texas — The electoral revolution that hit this city on Saturday, April 4, shoved into the background the successful nationally spotlighted campaign by Mexican Americans here in 1963 to win control of the city government.

When Angel Gutierrez, 25 year old former state chairman of the Mexican American Youth Organization (MAYO), and two of his running mates swept all three contested seats for the school board in the April 4 vote it climaxed a struggle which went back to last December.

Chicano activists at that time presented a series of demands to the predominantly Anglo school board. But the seven member board would not listen to the grievances of the students, parents and community activists.

This triggered a school boycott by more than 1,000 Chicano pupils and set into motion the machinery that resulted in the major electoral upset in the school board races.

Running with Gutierrez was Arturo Gonzales, 21, and Mike Perez, 31. Gonzales received 1,344 votes and Perez 1,397.

Top man on the establishment slate was E. W. Ritchie Jr., 46, a rancher and former city council member who was defeated in the first Mexican American revolt at the ballot box here seven years ago.

Gutierrez received 1,344 votes to Ritchie's 1,119.

The winning slate campaigned hard. Big rallies were held, leaflets were dropped from planes and a real grass roots movement, especially of young Chicanos, formed the backbone of the campaign. The victorious candidates were elected to three year terms.

Candidates backed by La Raza Unida also scored victories in the Crystal City Council elections, April 7. Seats were captured by Ventura Gonzales Jr., who led the field, and by Pablo Puente. Puente could run only after a federal court ruled unconstitutional a charter provision requiring property ownership.

New Board of Education member Gutierrez said, "It's a slaughter. It's worse than the school board election. It's more than just an election victory. This is victory over the court system and the underhanded gringo tricks throughout the Southwest."

Puente's appeal was first turned down by the Fourth Court of Civil Appeals.

In nearby Carrizo Springs, Rufino Cabello and Jesus Rodriguez were elected to the council. They ran as independents but had the official backing of La Raza Unida.

Following the elections, Gutierrez, who has 35 invitations to speak throughout the country, left on a nationwide tour. This week he was in California and next week will travel to Notre Dame University, Wesleyan University and Michigan State.

Eakins takes off on Ehrlich's 'Population bomb'

(Continued from page 8)
ing to the new ecology movement — if only in rhetoric. The government, after all, can finance the changes needed by the corporations. The costs can be passed along either in the form of consumer taxes or higher prices, and even this last recourse will occasion little trouble for the largest corporations whose prices can be raised without fear of the old-fashioned engine of competition. In both instances the cost of reform will be subsidized by the public.

This projected sequence has been the script for most twentieth century reforms. The central political and economic reforms of our century have been controlled — either authored or administered, or both — by corporate liberals. These reforms have made possible a more stable capitalism, and in that sense they have succeeded. That success has meant increased efficiency and higher productivity.

Reform has increasingly meant that government would be expected to aid, guarantee and encourage corporate expansion — hence profits. The major reforms have, in point of fact, led to increased profits for the large corporation in America. And there is no reason to believe the ecological reform movement will have a different history. Not, that is, if its reforms are limited to those proposed by Ehrlich.

Harsher things can be said about Ehrlich's analysis than the ability of the American corporate system to co-opt it. His foreign population control program is not only brutal but at its best it would lock the poor nations into agricultural development — hence permanent competitive disadvantage — and would encourage the expansion of imperial America. Some of his domestic proposals have equally frightening overtones of repression.

CAPITALISM ATTACKED

But to say only that Ehrlich reinforces that which he is ostensibly attacking is insufficient, and unfair. He also speaks for an important movement that is uncontainable; that makes demands that any system dependent upon imperialism and the engineering of waste consumption cannot meet. And Ehrlich, himself, captures some of the spirit, despite his pessimism.

The old conservation movement tended to concentrate on the preservation of American resources — especially timber and oil — that were being inefficiently and wastefully exploited.

The most radical proclamations of conservationists were seldom more than implicit criticisms of the structure of American capitalism. The new ecologists, however, are responding to the destruction of the world environment and to some of the basic values that justify and explain American capitalism itself.

This is reflected in an intelligent and passionate dedication that has become an increasingly political life mode for growing numbers of "unpolitical" people. It is incompatible with imperialism. This element of the ecology movement is impossible to reconcile with an American political economy that must command most of the resources of the world, whether other people starve because of it or not.

Another aspect of the new ecology movement conflicts with the structure of American capitalism. Commodity production under capitalism must expand and that expansion is based upon the creation of growing needs for objects of consumption.

The movement expresses "impossible" demands that do not take account of the "realism" of the Ehrlich variety, that are not intended to be fit to the requirements of existing politics and economics. It is the "unrealistic" cry for a new attitude, a new way of life, that Ehrlich founders on, even as he must respond to it: a demand for an end to the ideology of consumption that requires destruction and waste.

In its assertion of control over life and respect for the earth, a new consciousness of reality is born that cannot be contained by the prevailing American system. This current is strong, but not yet dominant in the new ecology movement. But it shows promise of providing an unexpected foundation for a socialist humanism — perhaps one with a new dimension.

PW drive standings

Standings in the People's World 1970 Fund Drive as of April 14, 1970:

Area	Quota	Cash	Subs	Total	%
Los Angeles	$36,500	$ 9,876.95	$ 459.00	$10,335.95	28.3
San Francisco	8,500	1,841.31	76.00	1,917.31	22.5
Washington	8,000	1,267.43	135.00	1,402.43	17.5
Alameda	6,000	679.61	98.00	777.61	12.9
Riverside	1,900	1,609.00	7.00	1,616.00	85
Santa Barbara	150	100.00	4.00	104.00	69.3
Mis. North Cos.	50	27.04	4.00	31.04	62
Tulare	100	30.00		30.00	30
Santa Clara	2,500	572.00	59.00	631.00	25.2
Nevada Co.	100	20.00	4.00	24.00	24
Orange	275	50.00	7.00	57.00	20.7
Fresno	350	60.00		60.00	17.1
San Bernardino	500	85.00		85.00	17
San Mateo	150	18.00	7.00	25.00	16.6
Nevada State	100	11.00	4.00	15.00	15
Contra Costa	550	62.52		62.52	11.3
Butte	150		12.00	12.00	8
Sonoma	600	30.00	14.00	44.00	7.3
Ventura	200	13.00		13.00	6.5
Marin	1,000	27.00	18.00	45.00	6
Escondido	300	10.00		10.00	3.3
San Diego	750	11.00		11.00	1.5
Oregon	1,000		4.00	4.00	.4
Sacramento	100				
Santa Cruz	100				
Stanislaus	100				
Arizona	300				
Idaho	200				
Miscellaneous		32.00	86.60	118.60	
Totals	$70,375	$16,432.86	$ 998.60	$17,431.46	24.7

Aleman tells aims of Chicano youth

(Continued from page 9)
ple for 250 miles, the closest town being San Antonio.

With respect to Students for a Democratic Society, who offered to help, MAYO reiterated its position that it doesn't want coalitions at this time.

Aleman said, however, 'We understand that in the long run that will be the way" in order to retain what "we have gained."

But, first, he said, "We are going to have to break that sense of inferiority" that the establishment has "bred in our people" as a result of oppression and repression.

And what then will develop is a small example of a new breed of men and women.

THE CRASH

We had crashed in a busy street of Denver, Colorado, during the Chicano Youth Liberation Conference last March.

We jumped out of our cars as an elderly anglo man got out of his. With us was Aleman's wife, whom we had just picked up.

The anglo spoke loud and arrogantly as he wlaked towards us.

Aleman kept cool and dignified.

The anglo man started to yell; Aleman's wife yelled in return. When the man shouted again, Aleman told him, "Don't talk to me like that!"

The episode was ended by the presence of a cop.

NR: Nonsense explosion'

(Continued from Page 7)

"Your opponents are in a militant mood. They have been co-opted in Vietnam and you fully expect them to hold your feet to the fire on these tough domestic problems.

"Apprehensively, you await the onslaught. And what is the slogan? No, it can't be — but yes, it is. It's coming into focus. Read it: "lower emission standards"! And in the next rank is another militant sign; and what does it say? It says, "Our rivers stink!"

". . . Full circle. The opposition sloganers have gone from the 'New Deal' to the 'Fair Deal' to the 'New Frontier' to the 'Great Society. And now they march to a new banner: 'No Shit."

From an article called "The Nonsense Explosion," by Ben Wattenberg in The New Republic, April 4, 1970.

V. I. Lenin on 'population'

(Continued from page 6)
laws against abortions or against abortions or against the distribution of medical literature on contraceptive measures, etc. Such laws are nothing but the hypocrisy of the ruling classes. These laws do not heal the ulcers of capitalism, they merely turn them into malignant ulcers that are especially painful for the oppressed masses. Freedom for medical propoganda and the protection of the elementary democratic rights of citizens, men and women, are one thing. The social theory of neomalthusianism is quite another. Class-conscious workers will always conduct the most ruthless struggle against attempts to impose that reactionary and cowardly theory on the most progressive and strongest class in modern society, the class that is the best prepared for great changes.

— V. I .LENIN

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From his friends

BOOKS

Story of suffering & heroism that was the Presidio mutiny

The following discussions of Fred Gardner's "Unlawful Concert" are by the Presidio 27 defense attorney and the People's World correspondent at the Presidio trials.

THE UNLAWFUL CONCERT. By Fred Gardner. New York: Viking.

FRED GARDNER has been criticized by one recent reviewer for being too partial and having a bias against the military.

I'm sure that Mr. Gardner would be the first to acknowledge such a bias.

His book, "The Unlawful Concert," is one of the most devastating indictments of military "justice" yet written.

This is not a journalistic recounting of the Presidio mutiny but an incisive analysis by an anti-war author who is himself a founder of the G.I. coffeehouse movement. Gardner contends that the Presidio mutiny represented something new in the G.I. anti-war movement, both in terms of the ferocity of the repression and the "average G.I." character of the participants. He certainly does a commendable job of bearing out his thesis.

IT IS regrettable that given the deadline pressure from his publisher, Gardner's book runs only 239 pages. Still, it would be impossible for any mother or father reading "The Unlawful Concert" not to become outraged by the brutal conditions and inhumane treatment to which their sons are being subjected.

I am convinced this book is going to have repercussions in the halls of Congress. Perhaps it will even begin to free U.S. enlisted men from the feudal caste system to which they are now subjected.

—TERENCE HALLINAN

THE PRESIDIO mutiny of October 14, 1968 was conducted by 27 young GIs who came from what author Fred Gardner calls "the poorest, least fortunate strata of white America."

They were men taken into the army to fulfill bigger draft quotas that were supplying bodies to that insatiable machine that runs the Vietnam war.

In fall, 1968, the Presidio stockade was overcrowded — operating at twice it's capacity. It was staffed by guards who seemed to be vying with each other for top marks in cruelty.

GHASTLY SUICIDE attempts were commonplace. One prisoner kept slashing his arm and then methodically ripping out the stitches when he was returned to the stockade after being sewn up.

Others drank chrome polish, shampoo and tried hanging themselves.

One man succeeded, though. Richard "Rusty" Bunch ran away from a work detail and was shot in the back by a guard.

His suicide note said, in part, "Well if your (sic) not going to give me love at least do me the favor of complete elimination . . .

"Fuck it, it ain't worth living . . . I've got but one click and it's over . . . Very well since they want me I'll do it."

His death triggered a sit-in by 27 other prisoners and resulted in the now famous "mutiny trials."

IN "UNLAWFUL Concert," Gardner has done a thorough job of describing the horrors of the stockade. I sat through most of the trials and became familiar with the men and conditions. Yet his telling of it made real again the brutality, the suffering and heroism that is the story of the 27.

It is the 27 who are the story and Gardner provides one of the first descriptions of who they are and why they did what they did.

A picture emerges of frightened, confused young men who tried desperately to tell someone about the hell they were living in.

Danny Wilkins, one of the 27, said that after Bunch was killed, "People were going all over the place, running from group to group, talking about Bunch being killed, cursing talking about burning up the stockade, killing guards, that sort of thing.

"It was confusion and hysteria,' 'he said.

Over the weekend, the prisoners in the stockade discussed all those things and finally ended up writing down a list of grievances.

Walter Pawlowski stood up and read them on Monday morning, Oct. 14 when they sat down on the grass — a small circle of 27 men singing "We Shall Overcome" and "America the Beautiful."

DURING THE trial of 14 of the 27 GIs defended by attorney Terence Hallinan, there was much criticism and debate over Hallinan's tactics.

He contended that the men were "in a state of mass hysteria that morning," and were "swept up by an irresistible impulse to protest the killing."

Many felt Hallinan was portraying them as sick kids and taking away from the impact of the demonstration.

This argument arose during the PW coverage of the trials when some readers protested the paper didn't stress the political nature of the act.

Gardner puts that defense in perspective and says: "The psychiatric defense enabled the court and the press — to hear ample testimony on life and death at the Presidio stockade. It also offered the best hope of acquittal and, as the psychiatrists followed one another to the stand, seemed increasingly true."

IT'S HARD not just to talk about the 27 because theirs was a dramatic, moving act and most people who followed the trials were caught up in it.

Their story was so incredible because even those of us who believe the military in this country capable of genocide, torture, brutality and sadism are not quite prepared for it when it is laid out in front of us. That was done in the mutiny trials, particularly when Hallinan conducted the defense.

The beauty and strength of the 27 becomes clear when you see that in the middle of the inhumanity and bedlam that was the stockade, they affirmed their committment to peace and humanity by seeking a redress of their grievances and standing by it.

GARDNER'S BOOK is sensitively and sympathetically written. A friend of mine who read it and bought five copies to send to others, said "It should be required reading." I agree.

—STEPHANIE ALLAN

FILM

Comedy in an army hospital

M*A*S*H. Produced by Ingo Preminger. Directed by Robert Altman. Screenplay by Ring Lardner, Jr., from the novel by Robert Hooker. (At the Parkway in Oakland.)

A HELICOPTER circles for a landing with a bloody body strapped to one side and a gentle song called "Suicide is Painless" in the background.

This is M*A*S*H, an anti-military movie and therefore, in some ways, an anti-war movie. But some things, like Vietnam and the brutality of the army and wars, aren't funny and fortunately this film doesn't try to make them so.

The setting then for the mobile army surgical hospital (or MASH) is Korea, and enlisted men are rarely seen. The one EM who appears regularly is the commander's assistant and runs the camp.

The doctors, nurses and staff manage to ignore and work around army procedures. They provide sanity, logic and compassion as compared to the "regular army clown" who's out to lunch when an operation is scheduled.

BUT NO one takes anything too seriously and it is this fine balance between comment and humor that gives the film its impact.

Don Sutherland who plays Capt. Hawkeye Pierce, is holding a bloody leg that he is just about to saw off. As he starts, he asks for a clamp — to scratch his nose.

Or when Sally Kellerman who gives a priceless performance as "Hot Lips" O'Hoolihan criticizes Sutherland for the lack of discipline in the operating room, providing screenwriter Ring Lardner, Jr., a chance to make a brief comment on military discipline.

As Sutherland is leaving, "Hot Lips" says, "I wonder how a degenerate person like that ever reached a position of responsibility in the U.S. medical service?"

"He was drafted."

John Schuck, formerly of the American Conservatory Theatre, is great as the sexual athlete who failed in bed and wants to end it all. His colleagues send him off in a last supper that just happens to resemble da Vinci's painting.

THIS FILM is staffed by refugees from ACT, the Committee and other theatre groups. The performances are uniformly first rate. The direction is smooth and maintains the timing and balance of Lardner's script, which provides some of the best comedy in years.

Sutherland, Elliot Gould, Miss Kellerman and Roger Bowen of the Committee who plays Col. Blake, M*A*S*H commander, are particularly effective.

—S.A.

DONALD SUTHERLAND AND ELLIOTT GOULD IN MASH

Action shots

GARY, Ind. — The City Council of this city — one of the nation's largest steel producing centers — on April 11 voted affirmatively on a resolution calling for "an immediate end to our involvement in the war in Vietnam." The measure, which passed 7 to 2, called for withdrawal of U.S. forces from Vietnam, Laos and Thailand.

SANTIAGO DE CHILE—From his prison in Bolivia, French revolutionary theorist Regis DeBray has sent his support for Salvador Allende's candidacy for president of Chile.

Allende is the candidate of Chile's two major left parties, the Communist and Socialist parties.

The announcement was made in the Chilean capital by the world renowned poet and Communist, Pablo Neruda, during a dinner for Allende. The dinner was also attended by Mrs. Selvira League, mother of the two Bolivian guerrilla martyrs, Coco and Inti Peredo.

SACRAMENTO — Legislation barring California servicemen from serving in the Vietnam war has been introduced in the California State Assembly.

Assembly Bill 1460, sponsored by Assemblyman Bill Greene (D-53rd AD, L.A.), would require the state attorney general to bring suit in federal court to prevent state residents from serving in a war zone in the absense of a congressional declaration of war.

Greene, a black legislator who represents a large part of the Los Angeles ghetto areas, fashioned the bill after a similar measure recently signed into law in Massachusetts.

LOS ANGELES — Heavily armed right-wing terrorists invaded "The Haymarket" coffeehouse Monday night, April 14, beat and gassed 19 occupants, and left after setting the building ablaze with gasoline.

Although people were incapacitated by the gas, presumably "mace," everyone managed to escape the burning structure. One man, however, identified as Ron White, was hospitalized at L. A. County General Hospital from the efects of a substance sprayed in his face, reportedly blinding him.

The attackers, identified by witnesses as "gusanos" (anti-Castro Cuban exiles, literally translated "worms"), numbered at least 8, including women .In addition to incapacitating gasses, the "gusanos" were armed with pistols, a carbine and a shotgun. It was the worst, so far, of numerous gusano attacks in this city.

"The Haymarket" has been a radical political center designed to serve the progressive movement in Los Angeles.

MONTEVIDEO, Uruguay — Commandos of the Uruguayan revolutionary organization Tupamaros early Wednesday morning, April 8, carried out a $320,000 expropriation from a major commercial office here.

Profits made on the moon?

(Continued from Page 1)

announcers hit on the problem of "morale" at the space station, which they described as having been quite low recently.

One of them said during the last bits of activity at the manned space center at Cape Kennedy, people were something less than enthusiastic. The problem, he said, was waning interest in men on the moon and thus less money being spent on it. Time magazine had commented that the people of the country "have already become rather blasé about moon shots."

Some of the men, they said, who worked at the station, were wondering in the event of a curtailment of the manned flight where would they go with their families. Some of the astronauts were bitter at the thought of going through so much hardship and never getting into space. All this, they said, made this shot of great importance and said the financial effect on Cape Kennedy of the aborted Apollo 13 could be critical.

The intriguing bit of ABC conversation only served to give further evidence to what many people already knew: the Air Force and the Natl. Aeronautics and Space Agency lobbied hard for Apollo 13. It was to be followed by a big push for the $10 billion needed for their ambitious STS (Space Transportation System).

The Space Transportation System involves putting a space station in orbit around the earth and eventually using it for trips to the moon, eliminating the problem of re-entry into the earth's atmosphere. The London Economist estimates that merely transporting the parts of such a station into space would cost anywhere between $6 billion and $20 billion.

The STS is highly favored by the Air Force and is seen as a prelude to doing something that is supposed to be outlawed by international treaty: building a space-bomber system.

The STS is being promoted by some others too: the other half of the "military-industrial complex." All the major aerospace manufacturers are anxious to win the STS contract. In fact, they're drooling. Things are awful tight in the missile building industry and since things are tight in the country as a whole, it doesn't make very good sense to try and build anything else.

What NASA is up to, and seeks with the Apollo and the STS, is what scientist Ralph E. Lapp calls an effort "to perpetuate the dominance of the manned space program."

Over the last 10 years, NASA has spent $36 billion of the $50 billion that has gone into space spending (actually mostly into space, for almost nothing comes back). Most of that money has been spent on manned flights.

One of those who has been critical of the insistence on manned space missions has been the eminent space scientist Dr. James A. Van Allen. His argument is simple and is agreed to by more scientists than is indicated in the mass media. If it's cheaper and more efficient to use men for space exploration, then do it. But if not, "let us not grieve nor devote ourselves to the invention of specious and inane reasons." Allen's views are opposed by men like the famous ex-Nazi scientist Werner von Braun.

Writing in a recent edition of the New Republic, Lapp says, "The balance on which to weigh man's value in orbit has tilted heavily to one side, favoring the use of unmanned instruments."

Who is right in this controversy can be debated by reasonable persons. The Administration decision to send up Apollo 13 seems to indicate where the power lies. But one can only suspect that there is more than reason that makes these decisions.

Would it be too cynical to suspect that the sending of Jim Lovell, Fred Haise and John Swigert into space (of course, it's voluntary) may have been a risk motivated partly by something else: the greed of the aerospace firms and careerism in NASA.

JAMES A. LOVELL, JR.

JOHN L. SWIGERT, JR.

FRED HAISE, JR.

State Fed splits backing

Strange labor boost for Rep. Tunney

SAN FRANCISCO — "Low cost housing for minority groups and low income citizens," Rep. John Tunney (D.-Riverside) said recently, is impossible because of the high cost of labor involved.

Tunney is seeking the Democratic U.S. Senate nomination along with Rep. George Brown Jr. (D-L.A.) and Los Angeles Supervisor Kenneth Hahn.

And despite statements such as these, and lack of support of the grape strike, Tunney, along with Brown, received the endorsement of the California State Federation of Labor's Council on Political Education when it met in San Francisco last week (April 7).

JOINT NOD

The joint endorsement was the result of debate in the body's executive council. Al Barkin, national COPE director, was pulling for Tunney, as seemed to be Henning, who told the general meeting, that "Tunney had been as good a friend of labor as had Brown."

But representatives of several of the labor councils in northern California, including Santa Clara, Marin, San Mateo, Contra Costa and Alameda told the executive council of their endorsement of Brown.

Brown, said Contra Costa Labor Council Secretary Treasurer Art Carter, "has the support of labor because he supported Cesar Chavez in his struggle to improve the conditions of farm workers. Tunney didn't."

Brown, he continued, "has consistently represented the interests of labor and the common man in Congress by opposing compulsory arbitration, voting for lower taxes for low income people and by sponsoring and supporting legislation that consistently upholds the rights of union members and all citizens. We don't think this kind of record can be claimed for Tunney."

Result of the executive council discussion was a joint endorsement, to be on the safe side of both Brown's pro-labor record and Tunney's showings in the public opinion polls, usually at least 10 percentage points ahead of Brown.

Although none of Brown's supporters, especially among the younger delegates to the COPE meeting, were less than thrilled with the joint endorsement, Brown seemed happy with it. This is in keeping with the "Let's minimize the differences in the Democratic party" line he has been taking throughout the primary campaign.

The only surprise endorsement was for William Bennet, former Public Utilities Commissioner, who is seeking a seat on the State Board of Equalization, which sets tax rates for corporations.

The COPE executive council had recommended no endorsement for that office. From the floor, Contra Costa's Carter grabbed the microphone and made an impassioned speech for Bennet as a spokesman for labor and consumer rights. The endorsement won with little opposition.

Teacher strike spread

(Continued from Page 1)

the $1.10 that was negotiated in Washington was not enough and engaged in a rash of unauthorized strikes.

But the rank and file have apparently established more than a new wage offer. Some say now the union will never be the same.

Following the meeting, the drivers, a portion of thousands that were locked out April 10 by six Chicago trucking companies, voted by a ratio of 600 to 40 to return to work.

Holmes appeared to agree. He said the militancy of the men had turned the tide in the negotiations, forcing the trucking companies to move considerably from its original stingy offer. But he saw a danger in the way the revolt developed. It happened, he said, "because of a lack of communications between the officers negotiating and the membership."

"This created a lack of understanding and allowed the anti-labor media to create misinformation," he told The People's World. "The union must not allow this to happen in the future

"The Nixon administration was waiting in the wings to put through a piece of legislation similar to the attack on the railway workers," Holmes said. "In the name of a national emergency they would force the workers to accept the employers proposal."

But perhaps the most important thing — aside from the $1.65 — he reported was the decision of the union's leaders to conduct a large scale public campaign to inform the membership of the details and implications of the contract before it is voted upon.

Threats of fines, court injunctions and the possibility of mass firings have combined to make very little headway in curtailing the unprecedented revolt of teachers across the country.

Teacher strikes were underway in Los Angeles (see page 4) and Santa Maria, Calif.; Muskogee, Okla.; Minneapolis, Minn,; and Butte, Mont.

Although most striking teachers are demanding inflation-prompted pay raises ranging in the neighborhood of 16 to 20%, not all the demands are economic.

In Los Angeles, the quality of the schools, classroom size and teaching facilities were central to the demands.

Muskogee teachers said they would stay out until school officials devised an integration plan acceptable to the federal courts.